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THE NG CHALLENGE: FIVE SIMPLE RULES FOR PRONUNCIATION PREDICTION

Carol A. Buss

Consider the following sentence: "They congratulated the singer for challenging the English conductor." Here we find four different pronunciations for the same spelling--ng--namely, [ng], [ŋ], [nǰ], and [ŋg]. This is likely to be viewed as just another example of the "haphazard" nature of sound-symbol correlations in English--no problem for the native speaker, but a considerable challenge for the ESL/EFL student. Until recently, students were required to learn individual words and memorize their pronunciations. They might, in time, internalize certain patterns of pronunciation through exposure to the language as a native speaker does, but this would be a rather unreliable and time-consuming method. Students would still be forced to guess the pronunciation of new words, use a dictionary, or ask a native speaker. Fortunately, it has now been shown that there is in fact method to the seeming madness of English spelling, i.e., there are systematic relationships between spelling patterns and pronunciation. By devising rules to describe these relationships, pronunciation becomes predictable and the student becomes more independent.

This is a study of one particular set of spelling patterns--those containing ng--and their relationship to four basic pronunciations. This article 1) shows the general importance of prediction work in the pronunciation class, 2) surveys the current state of material on ng pronunciation, 3) gives a brief history of ng pronunciations, and 4) presents simple, pedagogically useful rules for ng pronunciation with some considerations of their use in the ESL/EFL classroom as well as some sample exercises.

THE ROLE OF PREDICTION IN PRONUNCIATION LEARNING

When one thinks of a pronunciation class, one immediately thinks of production work--pronunciation drills, pointers on articulation, etc. This work, if successful, will yield one result--the student will be able to accurately produce the target sound(s). Accurate production is, of course, a valuable goal, but in order for it to be truly useful, it must not be the only goal of the pronunciation class. In English the sound allotted to a particular symbol is highly dependent on the word it is in--the environment of the symbol (surrounding letters and affixes), the stress assigned to nearby syllables (stressed or unstressed), and sometimes on the part of speech involved. The students' ability to produce (or perceive) a particular sound, e.g., [ŋ], cannot meet all of their pronunciation needs; they must also know when to use the sound, i.e., be able to predict its occurrence. How else will students who have mastered the production of the four basic ng pronunciations know which one to apply to engaging, singer, changing, or dangle? Predicting pronunciation is not just a matter of wishful thinking; it can be done and should be a standard component of any pronunciation class.

The study of the pronunciation of ng in English--a spelling pattern which occurs in approximately 10,000 words--was motivated by the work of Wayne B. Dickerson at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign who, from the tenets of generative phonology, seized the notion that pronunciation is rule-governed. Finding the generative phonological rules to be too technically complex for pedagogical use, Dickerson (1985) began designing simple, yet accurate, spelling-based rules which could be applied mechanically by any ESL/EFL student. Using Dickerson's work as a model, this study provides some simple rules which will allow students to predict the correct pronunciation of ng on the basis of orthographic environment. Orthography is a useful tool for prediction because it is readily available to students, and it works so well. Students can rely almost totally on what is on the page before them. While it is necessary for students to be able to recognize certain affixes, assign stress, and, in some cases, identify parts of speech, they do not need to consult a dictionary, hear the word spoken, or know its derivation or meaning. As will be seen below, students who have acquired the fundamentals of Dickerson's system can quite easily predict the appropriate ng pronunciation for as much as 99% of the ng corpus.

NG IN ESL/EFL TEXTBOOKS

A brief survey of some available pronunciation literature relating to ng not only reveals the need for pedagogically useful ng material, but also illustrates the necessity, in general, for prediction work in the pronunciation class. Technical analyses presented by linguists on the subject represent one extreme on the complexity continuum and cannot be used in the classroom. Most texts, however, are at the other extreme. If they deal with the issue at all, they do so in a very haphazard and often confusing manner and usually concentrate on production rather than prediction. In many cases little information on consonants is included in textbooks at all. The information that does exist on ng is not very thorough and generally emphasizes the production of [ŋ] as opposed to [n]. Although word lists are sometimes provided, students are not given enough information to make solid generalizations about the various pronunciations. The few pedagogical books found which contain more thorough analyses leave students almost as helpless; their explanations tend to be too technical, requiring too much linguistic knowledge on the part of the student.

Few pronunciation texts use spelling as a point of departure. Although McClelland, Hale and Beaudikofer (1979) refer first to spelling, then sound, no information is given on the ng digraph. Most other books begin with sounds and may or may not refer to spelling. In many books, word lists are given after the discussion of a particular pronunciation, but these often do little to clarify the issue of when to use which pronunciation (Hooke and Rowell, 1982; Trager, 1982). Instead of learning to form generalizations, the most students can do is try to memorize the individual words.

Although most pronunciation books discuss the [nǰ] sound, few, outside of Thompson's Learning to Pronounce English (1978), establish the relationship between [nǰ] and the nge# spelling. In most cases this sound-symbol relationship is either totally ignored (Clarey and Dixson, 1985) or dealt with very superficially (Trim, 1975). Although it may be possible to find a thorough discussion of an issue as complicated as the pronunciation of medial ng, it will likely be too technical and require too

much linguistic sophistication on the part of students (Roach, 1983).

Axel Wijk's discussion of ng pronunciations in Rules of Pronunciation for the English Language (1966) is particularly thorough. He deals with all pronunciations (including the rarely mentioned [ng]) and attempts to state rules for them. His "rules," however, are too wordy and leave too many ambiguities to be pedagogically useful. If Wijk's information were summarized more clearly and economically, it might be quite useful for students.

As can be seen from this sampling, current materials do not adequately relate pronunciation information to the ng spelling. The information is either too technical, too sketchy, or simply too confusing. Students are given much more help with recognizing and producing the sounds than with predicting their occurrence in words. Needed in addition to production work are clear-cut rules covering all correlations between the ng spelling and consonant pronunciations, stated in precise terms easily understood by the average student.

HISTORY

In Old English there was one basic pronunciation for ng, [ŋg]. According to McLaughlin, in Aspects of the History of English (1970), [ŋg] occurred only in medial position in Old English (in words such as bringan), and did not occur word-finally until the Middle English period when inflectional endings such as "an" were lost (e.g., bringan → bring) (p. 112). According to Kispert (1971, p. 16), [ŋg] appeared word-finally in at least a few Old English words such as hring 'ring'. Kispert, among others, indicates another pronunciation for this spelling pattern in Old English--[nǰ]. When g was pronounced [ǰ] as in Modern English gin, he says, a preceding n was pronounced [n], e.g., lengu 'length' (pp. 16-18).

According to Dobson in English Pronunciation: 1500-1700 (1968), [ŋg] was the usual pronunciation of ng in all positions throughout the Middle English period in "educated standard English." During this period, however, the [g] in final [ŋg] was gradually lost. This sound change spread from dialect to dialect until it finally became part of standard English by approximately 1600. Medial ng pronunciation varied in Middle English much as in Modern English with [ŋg] and [ŋ] both being found.

It was during the Middle English period that a significant contribution from French occurred in the form of nge# spellings. These spellings were pronounced [nǰ] as in Modern English. Robertson believes that the French pronunciation [ž] was naturalized into [ǰ], leaving us with our modern pronunciation of words such as change and orange (1954, p. 160). Many other Modern English words which contain the [nǰ] pronunciation are derived from French, such as engine and angel. These may also be examples of borrowings in which naturalization from [ž] to [ǰ] occurred. There are, of course, borrowings in which the French [ž] has been retained, such as lingerie (although [nǰ] is also acceptable here), but these are not significant in number. Therefore, although it does not appear that French directly influenced the pronunciation of ng in English, it does seem to have had a considerable indirect effect because of the widespread application of [nǰ] to the French spellings as a substitute for [nž]. French also contributed the ngue# spelling of such words as harangue, with its [ŋ] pronunciation.

Although various other languages have contributed words with ng spellings (e.g., gringo from Spanish, dungaree from Hindi), these borrowings have been few in number.

The only pronunciation which has not been mentioned is [ng] as in engage. This pronunciation normally only occurs when n is part of a prefix. It appears that in Old English, prefixes ending with n were most often followed by the palatalized g ([ǰ]) referred to above, e.g., ungemetlic, ungyld (Kispert, p. 266). By the early Modern English period, however, prefixes ending in n were often followed by [g]. These ng spellings were sometimes pronounced [ng] and sometimes [ŋg] (Dobson, 1968). This was particularly true (as in Modern English) of the prefixes in- and con-. Dobson attributes particular pronunciations either to stress or to the "identity" of the prefix. The prefix un- always had "regular [n] because of the strong sense...of its separate identity" (p. 953).

It can be seen, then, that ng spellings have evolved from having one primary pronunciation in the Old English period to having four in Modern English (plus the virtually nonexistant borrowing from French, [nž]). These pronunciations and their relationships to the ng spelling pattern are a result of the heritage of Old English, natural sound change, and the effect of French borrowings in the Middle English period.

SYMBOL-SOUND REGULARITIES

The next two sections provide two analyses--one technical, and one pedagogical--of the pronunciation of ng spelling patterns. The rules in the technical analysis have been devised solely to account adequately for the various pronunciations without regard to their pedagogical usefulness. In the pedagogical analysis, the technical rules have been adapted so as to be useful in the classroom. The format of these rules, which are called consonant-correspondence patterns (Dickerson, 1986), is as follows:

spelling pattern = -pronunciation-

General symbols used on the left side of this rule form are as follows:

+	a morpheme boundary
( )	optionally present
ˈ	primary or secondary stress
˘	unstressed
C	consonant letter
V	vowel letter
#	in the technical analysis: end of free stem, but not necessarily end of word; in the pedagogical analysis: end of word
+ W	before a weak ending that begins with e, i, or y (see list in Pedagogical Considerations, below)
u cons.	the consonant letter u (when pronounced as silence as in guess or [w] as in square

Pronunciation symbols used on the right side of the equation are placed between hyphens. They have the following phonetic equivalences:

-ng- [ŋ]--the sound of ng as in sing

-nj- [nǰ]--the sound of ng as in singe
-n/g- [ng]--the sound of ng as in engage
-ngg- [ŋg]--the sound of ng as in finger
-nzh- [nž]--the sound of ng as in the French pronunciation of lingerie

Each consonant-correspondence pattern cited below is followed by representative examples as well as exceptions. A small number of examples and virtually all exceptions are given for each rule in each analysis. Inflected and derivational forms are not usually given in the examples or exceptions. Exceptions vary somewhat between analyses due to the differences in rule formation and order of rule application. It should be mentioned that out of a corpus of approximately 10,000 words, the number of exceptions in both analyses is very small--no more than 1% of the total corpus.

Technical Analysis

The following is a set of six rules which account for all pronunciations associated with the ng spelling pattern. These rules were not devised with pedagogical usefulness in mind. Instead, they were intended to describe thoroughly the occurrences of the various pronunciations and to serve as the basis for the pedagogical rules. In order to be effective, the rules must be applied to the ng corpus in their given order.

1. **ng# = -ng-**

When ng occurs at the end of a word, it is pronounced -ng-. This applies to all inflected, combined and derivational forms of these words.

Examples: words ending in ng, and all forms of those words, i.e., cling, clingy, clingiest, clingstone; king, kingly, kingdom. Also, alongshore, casinghead, herringbone, gangland, gangster, wingback.

Exceptions: -ngg-: longer (adj., adv.), longest, prolongation, stronger, strongest, younger, youngest.

Comments: This section represents by far the largest group of ng spellings.

2. **ge,i,y = -j-**

When g is followed by either e, i, or y, it is pronounced -j-. The letter which precedes g does not affect its pronunciation.

Examples: angel, danger, engineer, longitude, stingy.

Exceptions: -ng-: bollinger, humdinger, Pyongyang. -ngg-: anger, conger, finger, hunger, linger, malinger, monger. -nzh-: allonge, rongeur.

3. **n (+) g(r,l, u cons.)V́ = -n/g-**

When ng is followed by either r, l, or the consonant letter u and a stressed vowel, it is pronounced -n/g-.

Examples: conglomerate, engage, ingredient, sunglasses, vanguard (also -ngg-).

Exceptions: -ng-: syringadenous. -ngg-: elongation, linguistic, dengue.

Comments: Stress may be primary or secondary. In most cases the n and g are divided by a morpheme boundary. Many of these words contain prefixes.

4. **ngl = -ngg-**

When ng is followed by l, it is pronounced -ngg-.

Examples: angle, Anglican, commingle, English, jungle, newfangled, rectangle.

Exceptions: none.

Comments: This rule applies to all ngl spellings except that which is eliminated by the preceding rule--namely, when l is followed by a stressed vowel.

5. **n (+) g(r,u cons.)V̆ = -ngg-**

When ng is followed either by r or the consonant letter u and an unstressed vowel, it is pronounced -ngg-.

Examples: angular, anguish, bongo, bungalow, congregate, kangaroo, language, mango.

Exceptions: -ng-: orangutan.

Comments: This pattern is the same as that of rule 3 except for the change in stress assignment and the omission of l. This rule includes ng pronunciations before the u consonant sound [w] as in anguish, and before the invisible y [y] which occurs before u in words such as angular (Dickerson, 1985).

6. **ngC = -ng-**

When ng is followed by a consonant it is pronounced -ng-.

Examples: Chungking, gingham, harangue, length, strength, tongue, tungsten.

Exceptions: none.

Comments: This pattern covers words in which ng is not followed by the consonants r, l, or u (as in rules 3, 4 and 5) and is not, as in rule 1, at the end of a free stem. It includes the ngue spelling pattern in which e is neither stressed nor unstressed.

Pedagogical Analysis

The five rules which follow have been adapted from the preceding analysis for use with ESL/EFL students. These rules are also an ordered

set. If not applied in order, many incorrect pronunciations will result. Words listed as exceptions may or may not be pedagogically useful. It will be up to the teacher to decide which exceptional words to have students memorize. His/her selection of exceptions to teach will depend on the wants, needs, and abilities of the students and on the classroom situation (time restraints, etc.). See Pedagogical Considerations, below.

This corpus does not include words having the prefixes down-, in- (meaning "not"), non-, and un- affixed to a stem beginning with g. These are neutral prefixes which have no effect on the word to which they are attached (Dickerson, 1988, pp. 69-70). As part of their instruction, students learn to recognize and ignore neutral prefixes.

Rule 1 of the technical analysis has been transposed to the end of the pedagogical rules and combined with ngC = -ngg-. If it were to remain the first rule, students would have to be able to recognize free stems in words such as clingier, clingiest, hanger, and tangy. This is too much to expect of students. It is easier for them to start with rule 2 of the technical analysis (rule 1 of the pedagogical rules) and, from among the exceptions to that rule, memorize whatever words are deemed most useful. It is necessary for students to memorize one or two sets of words in order to know that stinger, stranger, and stronger have different ng pronunciations. What follows seems to be the simplest means of learning these pronunciations.

All other rules are the same and appear in the same order as in the technical analysis. The pedagogical rules have exceptions which do not occur in the technical rules as a result of the need to move rule 1 to the end.

1. ge,i,y = -j-

When g is followed by either e, i, or y, it is pronounced -j-. The letter which precedes g does not affect its pronunciation.

Examples: adenopharyngitides, angel, binge, changeover, danger, engineer, frangible, ginger, harbinger, ingenious, laryngitis, longitude, manginess, orange, passenger, rangelands, stingy, tangent, vengeance.

Exceptions: -ng-: for ng + W in all of the following words: bang, belong, bong, bring, clang, cling, fang, fling, gang, hang, long (nouns and verbs), oblong, ping, prolong, prong, ring, sing, slang, sling, spring, string, swing, tang, throng, twang, wing, wring, wrong, zing. -ng-: bantingism, bollinger, humdinger, pekingese (also -n-), Pyongyang, stinger, stinging, Wyomingite, youngish. -ngg-: anger, conger, finger, hunger, monger, malinger, linger, longer (adj., adv.), longest, younger, youngest, stronger, strongest. -nzh-: allonge, rongeur.

Comments: As mentioned above, the first group of exceptions to this rule is necessary because students cannot be expected to identify free stems with a weak ending attached. For example, since -nger, -nging, and -ngy fit rule 1, students are not likely to distinguish the two pronunciations of ng in the following word pairs unless they memorize the above set of words: ginger - singer, ranging - ganging, mangy - tangy. The ng + W set is the largest group of exceptions and is, in

essence, a rule within a rule.

2. **ng(r,l,cons. u)V́ = -n/g-**

When ng is followed by either r, l, or the consonant letter u and a stressed vowel, it is pronounced -n/g-.

Examples: Angola*, angora*, conglomerate, engage, farthingale*, gangrene*, ingredient, mangrove*, Mongolian*, oceangoing, sangria*, sanguineous*, sunglasses, vainglory.
*also -ngg-

Exceptions: -ng-: gangland, hangout/over/up, longrun, ringleader, strongarmer, strongroom, syringadenous. -ngg-: elongation, linguistic, oblongata, prolongation.

Comments: This is virtually the same as rule 3 in the technical analysis, but the optional morpheme boundary indicator (+) is omitted since students are not expected to recognize morphemes. The pronunciation of a number of the examples is variable--both -n/g- and -ngg- are acceptable. Students should be allowed to use either pronunciation since both are correct.

3. **ngl = -ngg-**

When ng is followed by l, it is pronounced -ngg-.

Examples: angle, Anglican, commingle, English, jungle, newfangled, rectangle.

Exceptions: youngling.

Comments: This rule applies to all ngl spellings except that which is eliminated by the preceding rule--namely, when l is followed by a stressed vowel.

4. **ng(r,cons. u)V̌ = -ngg-**

When ng is followed by r or the consonant letter u and an unstressed vowel, it is pronounced -ngg-.

Examples: angular, bongo, bungalow, clangor (also -ng-), congregant, Congress, congruous, dungaree, extinguish, flamingo, Hungary, hungry, ingot, kangaroo, language, manganese, mongrel, sanguine, tunga.

Exceptions: -ng-: hangable, orangutan.

Comments: This is the same as rule 5 in the technical analysis, again with the optional morpheme boundary indicator omitted.

5. **ngC,# = -ng-**

When ng is followed by a consonant or if it occurs at the end of a word, it is pronounced -ng-.

Examples: all words ending in ng, alongshore, casinghead,

demisangue, gangplank, gangster, herringbone, kingdom, kingfisher, kingpin, laughingstock, length, longhorn, ringside, Shanghai, sloping, strength, tungsten, wingback, youngster.

Exceptions: none

Comments: This pattern covers words in which ng is not followed by the consonants r, l, or u (as in rules 2, 3, and 4). More or less a combination of rules 1 and 6 of the technical analysis, this rule accounts for the largest number of words. It includes the ngue spelling pattern in which e is neither stressed nor unstressed.

PEDAGOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The pedagogical rules presented above may be adapted in numerous ways for use with learners at varying levels of proficiency and in a variety of teaching situations. It is not essential that all of the rules be presented together. Advanced students who have acquired the necessary background information can handle the entire rule set. Intermediate and even beginning students will be able to handle select portions of the set. Modifications can be made at any level to simplify or change the focus of the rules. A discussion of the various uses of the rules follows.

The student who wishes to master the ng pronunciation rules will need to be able to:

a) recognize vowel and consonant letters (necessary for all rules);
b) recognize the prefixes down-, in- (meaning "not"), non-, and un- in order to eliminate them from the corpus of words governed by the ng rules (relates to rules 2 and 4);
c) recognize neutral endings and know to disregard them in the analysis since they have no effect on pronunciation. Although many neutral endings occur in this word corpus, only the following set (all of which begin with the letter l) will be problematic because of rules 2 and 3 and must be recognized: -ly, -less, -let, -like (Dickerson, 1981, pp. 63 and 89);
d) recognize the e, i, and y weak endings which are pertinent to rule 1 of this analysis (Dickerson, 1981, p. 70): -ed, -er, -ing, -ish, -y;
e) assign stress (necessary for rules 2 and 4) (Dickerson, 1981).

The teacher can, quite mechanically, eliminate the rules which would be too difficult for his/her students by looking at the criteria listed above. Rules 2 and 4 are the most difficult, requiring the ability to predict stress. Rules 1 and 5 can easily be taught separately from the other two. Rule 3 can only be taught after rule 2.

The teacher must be sure that students have the background information needed to apply the particular rule. If students do not know the weak endings, for instance, they will have to be taught and practiced.

Advanced students. It is clear that the student who masters the entire set of four rules will have to be quite advanced. The teacher can present these students with the entire rule set or, if a "shortcut" lesson of sorts is desired, he/she may deal only with rules 1 and 5. When treated as a complete set, the rules should be taught and applied in order.

Intermediate students. Intermediate students can easily learn rules 1 and 5. They may have learned rule 1 as a part of pronunciation rules for g. Only five weak endings are needed to handle the first group of exceptions. The teacher can easily provide students with the neutral endings necessary for rule 5 if students are not already familiar with them.

Beginning students. Beginners can benefit by learning rule 5 which covers the largest number of words. They will merely need to know that C does not include r, l, or u (except the ngue pattern). This is the simplest and most useful rule.

Modifications. Rules 1, 2, and 4 contain a number of words among the exceptions which are rarely used and do not need to be taught. Such words as bantingism, bollinger, Wyomingite, allonge, and rongeur in rule 1, strongarmer, syringadenous, and oblongata in rule 2, and orangutan in rule 4 could easily be eliminated without handicapping students in any way. The large group of exceptions under rule 1 (ng +W) can be made more manageable by eliminating some of the less frequently used words.

It is worth noting that the ng word corpus contains a large number of medical terms, e.g., laryngology, pharyngeal. These might be singled out for special lessons for students in medical fields or, for instance, biology.

As with all prediction rules, the ng rules should be taught in conjunction with work on production and perception of the sounds related to these spelling patterns.

SAMPLE EXERCISES

The following are samples of exercises which can be used to help students learn the ng rules and to give them practice in applying them. Written exercises in which students write out the rules or use their rules to write out predictions can be given as homework. Others can be used in class for oral practice or as pencil-and-paper tests of students' mastery of the rules. Exercises may focus on only one rule or on all five. They may be combined with a grammar lesson (as in in-class exercises 1 and 2), or they may test students' ability to recognize exceptions (in-class exercise 4). Teachers should choose the content of such exercises according to the rules and exceptions learned by the class.

These are only sample exercises. A larger number of words or sentences would normally appear in each exercise.

Homework

ng Spelling Patterns

1. ge,i,y = -j-
2. ng(r,l,u cons.)$\dot{V}$ = -n/g-
3. ngl = -ngg-
4. ng(r,u cons.)$\vec{V}$ = -ngg-
5. ngC,# = -ng-

The five rules listed above tell you how to predict the sound of ng. As you can see, the letters which follow ng are very important. To analyze an ng spelling pattern, look at the first rule. If it does not describe the pattern, move to the second rule and so on until you find the correct pattern. Then you will be able to predict the ng sound.

1a. Write out the rule which describes ng in the following words.
b. Write the sound of ng.
c. Read each word out loud.

	Rule	Sound
belong	_____	- -
tangible	_____	- -
England	_____	- -

2. There are a few excetions to these rules. Your teacher will give you a list of exceptions to learn. Memorize these words and their ng sounds.

3. Circle the correct pronunciation for the ng speling in each of the following words.

cliffhanger	-nj-	-n/g-	-ngg-	-ng-
hummingbird	-nj-	-n/g-	-ngg-	-ng-
estrange	-nj-	-n/g-	-ngg-	-ng-
linguist	-nj-	-n/g-	-ngg-	-ng-
engage	-nj-	-n/g-	-ngg-	-ng-

4. Find a word in the following paragraph to fit each pattern below.

The Hungarian engineer talked Mr. Wellington into giving him a challenging job. He has to convert a boardinghouse in Washington into bungalows for single Congressmen.

ge,i,y = -j-	_____
ng(r,l,u cons.)V́ = -n/g-	_____
ngl = -ngg-	_____
ng(r,u cons.)V̆ = -ngg-	_____
ngC,# = -ng-	_____

In-class work

1. One student asks the question, another answers, then asks someone else the question. [Combines grammar and pronunciation.]

What are you doing?

I'm _____ a book. (read)
I'm _____ for the bus. (wait)
I'm _____ for my sister. (look)

2. Complete the following sentences with the correct form of the verb in parentheses. Read the sentences out loud.

1. The students are _____ home during the Christmas break. (go)

2. We were _____ Long Island when it started to snow. (visit)
3. The youngster is _____ the length of the ice rink. (skate)

3. Circle the word in each group with the ng sound that is different from the other two. [Words will vary according to choice of exceptions.]

1.	changed	lunged	thronged
2.	tangy	rangy	mangy
3.	stranger	hanger	danger
4.	ringing	hinging	cringing

4. Does the word have a weak ending? Is the word an exception? Circle yes or no for each question. [Words used in this exercise will vary according to the teacher's choice of exceptions to be taught.]

	weak ending		exception	
angel	Y	N	Y	N
ranged	Y	N	Y	N
dingy	Y	N	Y	N
manger	Y	N	Y	N
Clingy	Y	N	Y	N

5. Match the word in the column on the left with the word that has the same ng sound on the right:

tangible	angle
ingredient	ingenious
hungry	fetching
strength	congruent

6. Read the following sentences aloud:

The passengers were angry about the delay.
The fire extinguisher was hanging in the hall.
Finding the right ingredients was a challenge.
The congressman wore sunglasses to the hearing.

7. The teacher can pick paragraphs containing ng words from any book or magazine and have students read them out loud.

CONCLUSION

This study has identified a means by which students of English can learn to predict when to use each of the four major pronunciations of the ng spelling pattern. The number of important exceptions to these rules is very minimal. Some of the rules can be used even by beginners for predicting the pronunciation of a very large part of the 10,000 word corpus, and, with the minimal required background, the entire set can be mastered to achieve 99% accuracy in prediction.

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IDEAL 3, 1988

THE EFFECT OF MARKEDNESS ON EPENTHESIS IN SPANISH/ENGLISH INTERLANGUAGE PHONOLOGY

Robert S. Carlisle

The purpose of this study was to determine if markedness relationships within a target language influence degree of difficulty in acquisition. To test this possibility, the researcher developed the Intralingual Markedness Hypothesis. For the hypothesis to be tested the target language must have structures not in the primary language, and those same structures must be in a markedness relationship. Both conditions are satisfied in the case of native Spanish speakers learning English because English has three onsets--.sl, .sm, and .sn--that are not found in Spanish and that are in a markedness relationship.

Fourteen native speakers of Spanish each read 435 topically unrelated sentences each containing one target onset. Degree of difficulty was measured by the frequency of epenthesis before the onsets. Statistical analysis revealed that the mean frequency of epenthesis before .sl was significantly lower than that before both .sm and .sn. The results failed to falsify the Intralingual Markedness Hypothesis.

INTRODUCTION

Researchers in second language acquisition have long recognized that the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis as traditionally formulated cannot predict phonological errors produced by L2 learners. Evidence for this lack of success comes from research on segments demonstrating that some segmental variants produced by learners are found neither in the target language nor in the learners' own native language (L. Dickerson, 1975). Further evidence comes from research on the syllable revealing that second language learners modify syllable structure in the target language even though the the same syllable type exists in the native language (Tarone, 1980).

Despite this evidence against the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis, Eckman asserts that it still "can be maintained as a viable principle of second language acquisition" (1977, p. 315) if revised to incorporate principles of linguistic universals, specifically typological markedness. The result of the merging of the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis and typological markedness is the Markedness Differential Hypothesis (Eckman, 1977, p. 321):

(1) Markedness Differential Hypothesis (MDH)

The areas of difficulty that a language learner will have can be predicted on the basis of a systematic comparison of the grammars of the native language, the target language and the markedness relations stated in universal grammar, such that,

(a) Those areas of the target language which differ from the native language and are more marked than the native language will be difficult.

(b) The relative degree of difficulty of the areas of the target language which are more marked than the native language will correspond to the relative degree of markedness.

(c) Those areas of the target language which are different from the native language, but are not more marked than the native language will not be difficult.

According to Eckman, the incorporation of typological markedness into the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis provides a needed "degree of difficulty" (p. 320) which will enable researchers to predict the direction of difficulty for the acquisition of those structures within markedness relationships. The concept of direction of difficulty is clear from (a) and (c) of the MDH; if a markedness relationship exists between two languages such that language A has the marked structure and language B does not, then speakers of B learning A should have more difficulty with that structure than should speakers of A learning B.

One of Eckman's examples demonstrating this direction of difficulty is from German and English. In English, a voicing contrast of obstruents occurs in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final positions. However, in German this voicing contrast occurs only in initial and medial positions, the contrast being neutralized in final position. Evidence from other languages indicates that there is an implicational relationship in the distribution of voicing contrasts. Some languages--Arabic and Swedish--maintain a voicing contrast in all three positions; others--Greek and Polish--maintain a voicing contrast in initial and medial positions; and still others--Corsican and Sardinian--have the contrast in only initial position. Consequently, a voicing contrast in final position implies a voicing contrast in medial and initial positions, and a voicing contrast in medial position implies a voicing contrast in initial position whereas the converse is not true.

Such an implicational pattern reveals that a voicing contrast in initial position is the least marked contrast, and a voicing contrast in final position is the most marked contrast. This implicational relationship means that the distribution of the voicing contrast is marked in English relative to German as English preserves the contrast in final position. Thus, according to the MDH, German speakers learning English should have more difficulty realizing the word-final voicing contrast in English than English speakers learning German should have neutralizing the contrast in German. According to observations made by Moulton (1962) of German speakers learning English and English speakers learning German, the MDH would successfully predict the direction of difficulty exemplified above.

The MDH has been tested on consonant clusters between English, the target language, and a number of primary languages all of which had more simple clusters than did English or which did not allow clusters at all (Anderson, 1987). Because the clusters in the primary languages were more simple than those in English, and because markedness increases with the length of the cluster, the conditions for testing the MDH were met, and Anderson hypothesized that subjects would modify longer clusters more

frequently than they would shorter clusters. Statistical analysis failed to falsify the MDH in the study.

THE PROBLEM

Even though the MDH takes markedness relationships between the target language and the native language into account, it does not do so with markedness relationships within just the target language. It is important to take such relationships into account if the full effect of markedness on second language acquisition is to be understood. For example, as Greenberg (1965) has pointed out, there is an implicational relationship between two member onsets consisting of a liquid followed by an obstruent (LO) and an obstruent followed by a liquid (OL). Some languages such as Czech, Georgian, and Polish have both types of onsets. Others such as French, Greek, and Hindi have OL onsets, but not LO onsets. No language has LO onsets unless it also has OL onsets. Thus, onsets of the form OL are less marked in relation to those of the form LO. The MDH predicts that speakers of languages having OL onsets, but not LO onsets, will have difficulty acquiring LO in a second language having both types of onsets. However, the MDH makes no prediction whatsoever about the following case. Some languages such as Santee, Delaware, and Quileute have two member onsets, but none of the form OL or LO. The MDH can make no prediction about the speakers of one of these languages trying to acquire a language such as Polish which has both OL and LO onsets. The reason that the MDH cannot make predictions in this case is that no onset exists in Santee, Delaware, or Quileute which is in a markedness relationship with OL or LO onsets. The MDH makes predictions only if a structure in the native language is in an implicational relationship with a structure in the target language. If the native language is one that does not have either one of these onsets and the target language is one that has both, then the markedness relationship is not between the native and the target language, but rather entirely within the target language.

PURPOSE AND HYPOTHESIS

The purpose of the current study is to examine the effect of markedness on second language acquisition. However, unlike the MDH which examines markedness relationships between the native and the target language, the hypothesis designed for this study examines markedness relationships within only the target language. A hypothesis which can be used to test the possible effect of markedness as expressed in the implicational patterns within the target language appears in (2) below:

(2) Intralingual Markedness Hypothesis (IMH)

> If structures in the target language differ from those in the native language, and if those structures in the target language are in a markedness relationship, then the more marked structures will be more difficult to acquire than will the less marked structures.

For the Intralingual Markedness Hypothesis to be tested, two conditions have to be fulfilled. First, certain structures in the target language have to differ from those in the native language; and second, these same structures in the target language must be in a markedness relationship.

Both conditions are satisfied in the case of Spanish speakers learning English because English has three onsets--.sl, .sm, and .sn--that are not found in Spanish and that are in a markedness relationship (in this paper onsets are denoted by a period to the left).

CONDITIONS FOR TESTING THE IMH

Onsets in English and Spanish

According to recent theoretical statements on the structure of syllables, especially by Clements and Keyser (1983), every language has syllable structure conditions which define the well-formed onsets of the language (for the purpose of this paper only two-member onsets will be discussed). Clusters not defined by the syllable structure conditions are impossible onsets which native speakers of the language cannot pronounce as tautosyllabic sequences and which cannot occur in underlying representation.

The syllable structure conditions of English define a large number of two-member onsets, at least 30. Among these onsets are seven of the form .sC (where C may stand for any permissible consonant) including .sw, .sl, .sp, .st, .sk, .sn, and .sm.

In contrast, the syllable structure conditions of Spanish, as inferred from the work of Harris (1983), define only 12 two-member onsets, none of which are of the form .sC. Thus, .sl, .sm, and .sn are impossible onsets in Spanish, and they cannot occur in underlying representation.

The syllable structure conditions of Spanish are a primary motivation for a rule of epenthesis. Spanish has a large number of words such as escuela, estampa, and espia in which the word-initial vowel is entirely predictable and consequently inserted by phonological rule. Because the rule applies during the derivation of the word, the underlying representation of the beginning of escuela, for example, might be thought to be /sk/. However, /sk/ is a prohibited tautosyllabic sequence which cannot occur in underlying representation according to the syllable structure conditions of Spanish. Therefore, in underlying representation the initial /s/ must be an extrasyllabic consonant. Because extrasyllabic consonants cannot appear on the surface, Spanish has a rule of epenthesis inserting a vowel which acts as a syllabic nucleus to which the extrasyllabic consonant resyllabifies before reaching surface representation.

Recent research (Carlisle, 1983) examining Spanish speakers' use of vowel epenthesis before English words beginning with .sp, .st, and .sk demonstrates that both the syllable structure conditions of Spanish and the rule of epenthesis are part of the interlanguage of Spanish speakers learning English, at least at the beginning and intermediate stages of acquisition. That is, Spanish speakers treat English words beginning with .sp, .st, and .sk as having initial extrasyllabic consonants, and they variably insert a vowel before them, the frequency of insertion being inversely proportional to the sonorancy of the environment preceding the onset. For example, Spanish speakers are much more likely to insert a vowel before .sp in a sentence such as The cat spotted the bird than before .sp in The sportscar is expensive because the environment before .sp in the

former sentence is much less sonorant than the one in the latter sentence.

In this brief section it has been demonstrated that the syllable structure conditions for English do define onsets--.sl, .sm, and .sn--not found in Spanish. Thus, the first condition for testing the Intralingual Markedness Hypothesis has been fulfilled. It has also been demonstrated that the syllable structure conditions of Spanish motivate a rule of epenthesis, a rule that applies variably in interlanguage and is the major strategy that Spanish speakers have for modifying .sC onsets in English (Carlisle, 1983, 1985). To test the hypothesis one last condition must be fulfilled: The three onsets--.sl, .sm, and .sn--must be in a markedness relationship.

Onsets and Markedness

In a paper cataloguing 40 linguistic universals involving word-initial and word-final consonant clusters, Greenberg (1965) asserts that .sl is less marked that .sm and .sn, the assertion being based on evidence from 90 languages. According to the findings of the research, 50 languages have word-initial consonant clusters consisting of both obstruent + liquid (OL) and obstruent + nasal (ON); 25 other languages have OL clusters, but not ON clusters; 14 languages have neither word-initial cluster; and only one has a ON cluster without having a OL cluster. (Though appearing exceptional, this last language is really not as it lacks a liquid in its phonology). The above evidence clearly demonstrates that the OL cluster is less marked than the ON cluster as the presence of the latter implies the presence of the former whereas the converse is not true.

The conditions of the Intralingual Markedness Hypothesis having been fulfilled, the hypothesis under study took the following specific form: Given that English has onsets of the form .sl, .sm and .sn which Spanish does not, and given that .sl is less marked than .sm and .sn, Spanish speakers will have less difficulty acquiring .sl than either .sm or .sn. Difficulty of acquisition will be measured by the frequency of epenthesis before each onset.

The hypothesis presented in the previous paragraph has been tested once before. In a pilot study, Carlisle (1985) examined the frequency of epenthesis used by nine native Spanish speakers before English words beginning with .sl, .sm and .sn. The results of the study revealed that whereas the frequency of epenthesis before .sl was significantly lower than that before .sm, it was not significantly lower than that before .sn. However, the difference in frequency before the two onsets did approach significance, and the frequency of epenthesis was in the correct direction as seven of the nine subjects did have a lower frequency of epenthesis before .sl than before .sn.

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

The subjects in the current study were fourteen native Spanish speakers from Colombia, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic. An equal number of males and females participated in the study. All subjects were adults.

Elicitation Device

The elicitation device was a list of 435 topically unrelated and randomly ordered sentences, 145 sentences each for .sl, .sm, and .sn printed on 21 sheets of paper. (See Appendix for examples of the sentences). Each sentence contained only one word beginning with any of the target onsets. As the environment preceding .sC is known to affect the frequency of epenthesis (Carlisle, 1983), it was mandatory to create a device containing the same environments occurring the same number of times before each of the three target onsets. Thus, 28 segmental environments and silence occurred five times each before .sl, .sm, and .sn.

Data Gathering Procedure

Each subject read all the sentences on the elicitation device in a single sitting, most subjects completing the task between 12 and 15 minutes. Before each subject read, the researcher reordered the sheets to prevent any ordering effect. All the subjects read and were recorded in a soundproof booth.

Transcribing and Reliability

In the current study, the absence and presence of the epenthetic vowel was noted as well as any other phonetic modifications of the target onsets such as the deletion of /s/. The researcher transcribed the tapes at one time, and a second rater with experience in this type of research independently transcribed the tapes at another time. Initial inter-rater correlations on the tapes of the 14 subjects ranged between .826 to .927. The two raters then together listened to all of the items on which they had disagreed, and if either felt that the original observation was erroneous, it was changed. After this reevaluation, the inter-rater correlations ranged between .906 and .993. Any items on which the raters did not agree after the second evaluation were removed from the study, a total of 273; also removed were any incomprehensible sentences or ones that the subjects obviously misread in such a way that the hypothesis could not be investigated, a total of 161 sentences. Of an original 6090 sentences, 5656 remained for the statistical analysis.

Analysis

Two types of statistics were performed on the data: correlations of the frequency of insertion before all three onsets and an ANOVA to test for differences among the mean frequencies of insertion before the three onsets.

RESULTS

The correlations between the pairs of onsets were high: .965 between .sl and .sm; .992 between .sl and .sn; and .978 between .sm and .sn. All correlations were significant beyond ($p<.0001$). The mean frequencies of epenthesis before the three onsets were .287 for .sl; .377 for .sm; and .328 for .sn. The ANOVA was also significant; $F(2, 41) = 106.31$, $p<.0001$. Tukey pairwise comparisons set at $p<.05$ revealed that the means of .sm and .sn were both significantly larger than the mean for .sl, and the mean of .sm was significantly larger than the mean of .sn.

DISCUSSION

To begin with, the results of the correlational analysis revealed that subjects who used epenthesis frequently before one onset also used it frequently before the other two onsets. These correlational results agree with those of the pilot study (Carlisle, 1985).

The results of the analysis of means failed to falsify the Intralingual Markedness Hypothesis as the mean frequency of epenthesis was significantly higher before both .sm and .sn than before .sl. It thus appears that markedness relationships within a target language are valid predictors of degree of difficulty in second language acquisition. One finding of the current study corroborated a finding of the pilot study: Epenthesis was significantly more frequent before .sm than before .sl. However, unlike the pilot study the current study also produced a significant difference between .sn and .sl. Because the sample size was larger in the current study than in the pilot study, the present results must be considered more valid of the differences between the onsets involved.

Both the pilot study and the present study produced what appears to be an aberrant finding; the difference in frequency between .sn and .sm was significant even though the two onsets are not in a markedness relationship. Although the finding might at first appear to falsify the Intralingual Markedness Hypothesis, it does not. The hypothesis only makes predictions for structures that are in a markedness relationship with each other. In the current study .sn is in such a relationship with .sl as is .sm. However, .sm and .sn are not in a markedness relationship with each other, so no prediction from the hypothesis can be made.

CONCLUSION

The findings of the current study help to at least partially explain a well documented feature of interlanguage phonology: its variability. Previous studies have shown that phonetic environment influences the frequency with which different variants of a variable occur (W. Dickerson, 1976; Carlisle, 1983). However, these studies were designed to reveal the presence of variability in interlanguage phonology, not necessarily to explain why some phonological structures are modified less frequently than others. From the current study, it appears that one factor involved in explaining such differences in the frequency of modification is the presence of universal markedness relationships within the target language: Less marked structures are less frequently modified than are more marked structures. Consequently, if one goal of research in interlanguage phonology is to explain variability, rather than just reveal it, a hypothesis such as the Intralingual Markedness Hypothesis becomes a requirement.

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APPENDIX

I want to keep slim.
The carpenter smoothed the wood.
Doug smokes too much.
George Washington had smallpox.
It has snowed for two days.
She stirred the hash slowly.
We have some smart students.
Smut is dirty language.
The ice slid along the table.
Rob smiles a lot.
I love sledding.
I slimmed down.
They loathe snow.
They smoke too much.
He drank the rum slowly.
The train slowed to a stop.
The lion snarled.
We will have some smog tomorrow.
My smoking bothers him.
The art teacher bought some smocks.
It snowed yesterday.
The house smells bad.
She is still slender.

IDEAL 3, 1988

PROFICIENCY-BASED INSTRUCTION: IMPLICATIONS FOR METHODOLOGY

Alice Omaggio Hadley

ABSTRACT

This article discusses issues in second language teaching methodology in the light of the concept of "proficiency," as defined in the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines. Rather than thinking in terms of identifying one optimal methodology for all learners of second languages, the profession should be seeking an organizing principle that will help us make sense of the variety of methodologies and approaches we already have or will develop in the future. The concept of "proficiency" has the potential to serve as such an organizer. Ways in which one might view language instruction in the light of proficiency are presented in the article, including the proposal of several hypotheses about proficiency-based language instruction. Then, the term "methodology" is defined and characteristics of various methodologies are compared and contrasted in the light of this organizing principle.

INTRODUCTION

> Once, in the throes of the audiolingual revolution, we "knew" the truth. Today, I am working with only a set of working hypotheses for myself as a foreign language teacher.... (Strasheim, 1976, p. 42)

Many educators familiar with the development of language teaching practices throughout the history of the profession would agree that the primary focus of research and development activity has been to identify the best way--"the one true way"--to teach a foreign language. This search for the ideal methodology has occupied the attention and energies of researchers and practitioners alike, leading to a long series of "revolutions" and "counter-revolutions" in teaching practices. Most of those involved in the search for the best teaching method have, quite naturally, tried to convince others of the wisdom of their own particular approach. Often this attempt to win converts to a given point of view has been motivated by the very reasonable desire to achieve some sort of consensus within the profession. Yet, despite a few short-lived rallies around a common flag, the history of language teaching has been marked more often by controversy than by consensus.

Traditionally, language educators, like linguists, have grouped themselves into two fairly distinct batallions--the

"rationalists" and the "empiricists" (Diller, 1978). The basic difference has been one of philosophy. The rationalist/process approach asserts that language learning is primarily the result of critical thinking and arises from a desire to communicate. The first task for the student is the identification of form as meaningful, a task for which problem-solving skills and strategies are needed. The empiricist/skills approach, on the other hand, assumes that language learning is the result of behavior and largely conditioned responses. The first task for the student in such approaches is the reproduction of correct forms, a task for which rote drilling is considered an essential strategy.

As far back as the sixteenth century, one can find evidence of a heated debate about the way in which languages ought to be taught. Claude de Sainliens, in his work entitled The Frenche Littelton. A most Easie, Perfect, and Absolute way to learne the frenche tongue, published in 1576, stated that one should not entangle students in rules, but allow them to practice first through dialogue memorization:

> If the Reader meaneth to learne our tongue within a short space, he must not entangle himselfe at the firste brunte with the rules of the pronunciation set (for a purpose) at the latter ende of this booke, but take in hande these Dialogues: and as the occasion requireth, he shall examine the rules, applying their use unto his purpose...(de Sainliens, cited in Kibbee, 1987)

Jacques Bellot, on the contrary, attacks this point of view in his French Method of 1588:

> There bee some holding this opinion, that the most expedient & certaine way to attaine to the knowledge of tongues is to learne them without any observation of rules: But cleane contrary I doe thinke that he which is instructed in any tongue what so ever by the onely roate, is like unto the Byrd in a cage, which speaketh nothing but that which is taught unto him and (which is much worse) not understanding that which he sayth, because he is voyde of all foundation of good and certaine doctrine...(Bellot, cited in Kibbee, 1987)

Throughout the decades following World War II, theorists and practitioners in the two warring camps transposed the debate to the modern context, where methodologists based in cognitive psychology argued with those espousing behaviorism and tried in vain to convince one another that they were right about the way languages ought to be taught. By the 1970's many practitioners, disillusioned by the failure of the various "revolutionary" methods to deliver what they had promised, left the ranks of the absolutists to adopt an "eclectic" approach, which, for some, became the new "one true way." And with eclecticism came a new kind of diversity within the profession, at least on the issue of methodology.

The newest version of the age-old debate has erupted in the relatively recent controversy surrounding "natural" approaches to language teaching, where the use of grammatical rules and error correction techniques are discouraged in the classroom, as opposed to more "cognitive" orientations toward methodology, which maintain that students must understand the basic rule system underlying the new language and receive corrective feedback in order to improve. Many language educators who have witnessed these various versions of the same arguments over the years have become somewhat weary of the debate, and are cautious in their enthusiasm for any new trends that seem like old "bandwagons" in disguise.

It is not surprising that in the 1980s, many of us in the profession still feel the need to reach some sort of consensus about language teaching, but are not sure how this should be accomplished. The effort to establish uniform goals and standards in the aftermath of the Carter Presidential Commission on Languages and International Studies in 1979 is one manifestation of this need for consensus. One result of this effort has been the development of the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines, which have sparked a great deal of interest among members of the language teaching community. But because this effort represents a search for consensus about standards rather than about appropriate methodologies for reaching these standards, it marks a change in direction in the debate about language teaching. After many years of fruitless searching for the "one true way," we may be realizing at last that the controversy has been raging on the wrong battlefield all along. Instead of searching for one definitive approach to language teaching--a search that has consistently ended in frustration and a sense of failure--we have begun looking for some "organizing principle" by which our various methods, approaches, materials, and curricula might begin to make collective sense. This "organizing principle" must go beneath and beyond any one approach and relate in some clear way to "those elements of soundness and truth that are to be found in any method that has survived long enough to have received a name" (Stevick, 1976, p. 103).

PROFICIENCY AS AN ORGANIZING PRINCIPLE

Elsewhere, I have proposed a rationale for choosing the concept of "proficiency" as this organizing principle and have described the concept in detail (Omaggio, 1986). Unfortunately, space does not permit a detailed description here; the brief definitions that follow review the most basic elements associated with the term. Readers unfamiliar with "proficiency" might want to refer to the source cited above for a thorough discussion of the concept.

Basically, the descriptions of language proficiency in the ACTFL Guidelines consist of a set of hierarchically arranged global definitions of language competence ranging from "Novice" to "Superior." These definitions are based on three interrelated sets of criteria: (1) function, or the types of tasks one can perform in the new language--tasks which are directly related to authentic language use; (2)

context, or the types of situations or content domains that one might be expected to handle effectively in the target language; and (3) accuracy, or the degree of precision with which one uses grammatical forms, vocabulary, discourse features, and sociolinguistic elements to get one's meaning across. The "Novice" level is characterized by discourse that is extremely limited in nature: In terms of oral proficiency, individuals may be able to produce very short utterances or a few common words or fixed expressions, but are generally not able to function in the language to get their own personal meaning across. Often, the novice level is characterized as consisting mostly of "memorized material"--that is, the language learner cannot generally use the language beyond those few words or expressions that he or she has learned, either in the classroom or through exposure to authentic language use experiences.

Individuals at the "Intermediate" level are generally able to talk about everyday topics and situations in very simple discourse, usually limited to present time, with little evidence of paragraphing. Intermediate-level speakers often have very little sense of sociolinguistic conventions and are extremely limited in vocabulary and structure. "Advanced"-level speakers, by contrast, can engage in more complex conversations involving a wider range of topics, and are not limited to one time frame, but can talk about past, present, and future events. They are capable of extended description and narration, show evidence of paragraphing, and are more sensitive to sociolinguistic factors in their speech. "Superior" speakers are capable of using an extremely wide range of vocabulary and structures, are sensitive to and use appropriate sociolinguistic and discourse features, and are capable of discussing virtually any topic they can handle in their native language. The proficiency definitions are not limited to oral skills; similar definitions exist for listening, reading, and writing in over a dozen languages.

Some Misconceptions About Proficiency

In the last few years, discussions about proficiency--both in the professional literature and at conferences and meetings across the country--have revealed that there are some misconceptions about the concept, held by various researchers and practitioners, that ought to be addressed. Several of the most common misconceptions are discussed below.

Misconception #1: Proficiency is a new kind of methodology. As stated earlier, the concept of proficiency is not a methodology, nor does it imply that one particular methodology is the most appropriate for building language competence. Rather, it is a set of global criteria for evaluating or measuring language competence, which is used independently of language teaching methods, curricula, or materials.

Misconception #2: The ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines imply a particular curriculum or sequence of instruction. Because the proficiency definitions are evaluative in nature, they may

have some interesting implications for curricular design. However, the Guidelines are not meant to be a curricular outline and do not imply a particular sequence of instruction. Rather, many different kinds of curricular plans can be derived from an intelligent and careful examination of the proficiency definitions. In this way, curricula can be said to be "proficiency-based" or "proficiency-oriented."

Misconception #3: **The ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines are very discrete-point in nature.** This misconception may arise when one is only minimally acquainted with the guidelines, a summary document which should not be assumed to stand alone. ACTFL has offered various kinds of familiarization workshops and tester workshops to explicate and clarify the concepts represented in the Guidelines, and recent publications have devoted many pages to further elucidate the definitions. Those who have held that the Guidelines are discrete-point in nature have not thoroughly understood them. The definitions, as stated earlier, consist of statements about the kinds of language functions one can perform at the various levels of proficiency, the contexts in which these functions are typically performed, and the accuracy with which one can expect them to be performed. These definitions are not meant to be a particular checklist or catalogue of functions, contexts, or linguistic features that must be mastered at a given level; rather, they describe in a more global fashion the kinds of features one might expect to find at each of the levels described. Individuals who are at the same level of proficiency may vary quite a bit in terms of discrete features of their discourse, especially at the lower levels of proficiency. Therefore, those who try to use the Guidelines as a checklist of features to be mastered are misusing them. In this instance, a little knowledge can indeed be a dangerous thing.

Misconception #4: **Proponents of proficiency advocate a heavy emphasis on grammar and on error correction in the classroom.** Because there is a concern for developing accuracy in proficiency-oriented approaches, especially when the eventual goal is a relatively high level of competence in the language, some attention to form in language instruction is necessary. However, attention to form does not imply that there must be a heavy emphasis on grammatical rules in the classroom or that every error must be corrected on the spot. More will be said about this issue in the next section. (See Hypothesis 3.)

Although a few language educators have expressed some concern about the way in which the proficiency levels have been defined, many others have supported the concept and have expressed great interest in the proficiency guidelines as a viable way to organize our thinking as a profession in the years ahead. Many feel that by agreeing in at least a global fashion on what it means to know a language at various stages of competence, and by describing what a person can typically do with the language at each of these stages, we can begin to find a way to measure outcomes against a common metric, and to predict accurately the degree of success with which an

individual can handle a variety of needs in a whole range of situations. The descriptive power that we can obtain from this common metric can help us compare and contrast more intelligently the effects of exisiting methods and materials on student progress. It can also help us develop revised versions of approaches we personally favor, compensating for any areas of weakness in them that we might identify. Such a common organizer can also allow us to make more realistic promises to language learners about the kinds of competence they can expect to develop within a given sequence of instruction, which is something we have never really been able to do before with any degree of precision.

Because this article is devoted to the issue of methodology, I would like to propose a set of hypotheses relating to proficiency-based language teaching. Some of the key elements from these hypotheses might then serve as evaluative criteria by which methods and approaches can be compared.

METHODOLOGY AND PROFICIENCY

Definitions

Before outlining the hypotheses relating to proficiency-based instruction and discussing the way they relate to methodology, it would be useful to try to clarify first the concept of "methodology" itself. Swaffer, Arens, and Morgan (1982) conceive of methodology as a "task hierarchy"; they maintain that the differences among major methodologies are to be found in the priorities assigned to various tasks rather than to the collection of tasks themselves.

> All major methodologies, whether skill or process-oriented, aspire to the same result: a student who can read, write, speak, understand, translate, and recognize applications of the grammar of the foreign language. Methodological labels assigned to teaching activities, are, in themselves, not informative, because they refer to a pool of classroom practices "that§ are universally used (p. 31).

Therefore, it is not what activities are used so much as when and how they are used that distinguishes methods from one another. According to Swaffer and her colleagues, definitions of methods or approaches need to involve a description of: 1) the hierarchy or value structure of activities; and 2) the position of such activities in the learning sequence.

Stevick also maintains that methods are best differentiated from one another in terms of factors such as "...the place of memorization, or the role of visual aids, or the importance of controlling and sequencing structure and vocabulary, or how the teacher should respond when a student makes a mistake, or the number of times a student should hear a correct model, or whether to give the explanation before or after practice, or not at all, and so forth..." (Stevick,

1976, p. 105). The factors that he mentions go beyond the selection of learning tasks to include philosophical and theoretical principles about ways of proceeding. But whether we adopt these points of view or some other, it makes sense to differentiate methods in terms of priorities rather than make binary oppositions between and among them. In assessing the relative value of various factors in any teaching approach, we can begin to assess the degree to which that approach corresponds to the concept of proficiency.

We have been using the terms "method" and "approach" thus far somewhat interchangeably. These terms, however, are not quite synonymous. Westphal (1979) defines the terms "syllabus," "approach," "strategy," and "method" as follows:

> ...the syllabus refers to the subject matter content of a given course or series of courses and the order in which it is presented; the approach is, ideally, the theoretical basis or bases which determine the ways in which the syllabus is treated; a strategy or technique is an individual instructional activity as it occurs in the classroom (p. 120).

She goes on to explain that a "method" consists of combinations of these three factors, although some combinations are more congruent with course goals than others. For example, it would be rather difficult to expect students to become proficient enough in speaking to function easily in a foreign setting if one used a literary syllabus, a grammar-translation approach, and strategies for learning activities based primarily on translation. However, Westphal believes that "it is quite possible to meet highly 'academic' objectives using a communicative approach to the grammatical syllabus and incorporating many humanistic strategies" (11). The former combination of factors is not congruent with the goal of functional proficiency, at least not in beginning and intermediate sequences of instruction. The latter combination seems more "eclectic," in that the instructor "borrows" from communicative approaches the basic theoretical and philosophical perspectives, uses a grammatical syllabus (instead of a functional one, which some communicative approaches would suggest), and treats the subject matter using "humanistic" techniques that have been suggested in yet another type of approach. These three factors, coupled with the actual text and course materials selected and the teacher's own individual style, could be said to constitute a "method."

Again, the term "method," as redefined here, implies a hierarchy of priorities set by the instructor or the program planners rather than a "pre-packaged" set of procedures to which everyone is expected to slavishly subscribe. This latter conceptualization of "methodology" went out with the last "revolution," when audiolingualism in its purest form was abandoned for more "eclectic" approaches. As Strasheim pointed out in 1976, "...we will have to learn to deal with 'working hypotheses' rather than 'one-true-ways,' for we are moving out of the period governed by absolutes" (p. 45). The

"working hypotheses" for proficiency-based instruction are explored in more detail in the next section.

Methodology and Proficiency: Five Working Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Opportunities must be provided for students to practice using language in a range of contexts likely to be encountered in the target culture. A proficiency-oriented method will give students, from the beginning of instruction, ample opportunities to: 1) learn language in context; and 2) apply their knowledge to coping with real-life situations. (See Omaggio (1986) for a thorough discussion.) Some of the contexts likely to be included at the elementary levels are basic travel and survival needs (food, clothing, hotel accomodations, transportation, and the like), handling daily social encounters appropriately, and coping with school or work-related situations. Students might also be taught to handle simple question-and-answer situations and discuss or write about concrete topics such as their own background, family, and interests.

This first hypothesis has various corollaries for designing or choosing a proficiency-oriented methodology.

Corollary 1: Students should be encouraged to express their own meaning as early as possible after productive skills have been introduced in the course of instruction. Therefore, methods that emphasize memorization or that severely limit personal expression in the early stages of instruction are not so easily adaptable to proficiency goals as those that encourage more creative language use. Only at the novice level do learners work almost exclusively with memorized material. To reach the intermediate range of proficiency, learners need to be able to "create with the language".

Corollary 2: A proficiency-oriented methodology promotes active communicative interaction among students. The use of small-group and paired communicative activities that allow students to practice language in context for some simulated or real communicative purpose should lead more readily to the development of oral proficiency than do methods that are primarily teacher-centered or that focus mainly on language forms and convergent answers. Communicative practice need not be totally unstructured; in fact, in the early levels of instruction, it is probably best that such activities be quite carefully structured and monitored to encourage the development of linguistic accuracy (see Hypothesis 3, below, as well as Omaggio (1986).) Communicative practice should involve exchanges of information in situations where some information gap exists, rather than involve totally predictable (and therefore non-communicative) exchanges among students.

Corollary 3: Creative language practice (as opposed to exclusively manipulative or convergent practice) must be encouraged in the proficiency-oriented classroom. Students who hope to advance in their skills beyond the novice range must

learn to "create" with the language. They must be encouraged to paraphrase, think divergently (i.e., think of many possible answers), and let their imagination and creative ability function as fully as possible within the limits of their current level of linguistic competence. Methods that help students create in the new language by including well-conceived divergent-production and imaginative tasks should build the flexibility, fluency, and strategic competence needed to achieve higher levels of proficiency, while at the same time encouraging the development of linguistic accuracy that is so important at those higher levels.

Corollary 4: A proficiency-oriented methodology emphasizes the use of authentic language in instructional materials wherever possible. The contexts for language practice should be devised, as much as possible, from culturally authentic sources. The use of real or simulated travel documents, hotel registration forms, biographical data sheets, train and plane schedules, authentic restaurant menus, labels, signs, newspapers, and magazines will acquaint the students more directly with real language than will any set of contrived classroom materials used alone. Videotapes of authentic or simulated exchanges involving native speakers, radio broadcasts, television or film, songs, and the like have long been advocated by foreign language educators as stimulating pedagogical aids. The proficiency-oriented classroom will incorporate such material frequently and effectively into instruction at all levels.

Just how to make the most effective use of authentic language materials in elementary-level classes remains somewhat unclear. Krashen (1982) maintains that people acquire language that is directed at the acquirer's current level of competence, but which includes some structures that are somewhat beyond that level as well. He asserts that language learners/acquirers will understand that which is "beyond" them from contextual cues in the message or from extralinguistic cues.

If Krashen's input hypothesis is true, then we might obtain the best results by using simplified versions of authentic materials with novice and intermediate-level students, and gradually move toward incorporating more complete, unedited language samples with advanced-level learners. One might also consider providing enough extralinguistic cues to render unedited authentic materials "comprehensible" to the beginning or intermediate students. Whether material is edited or not, it is important to choose input that is appropriate in form and content to the students' current level of proficiency. In addition, the task that students are asked to do with the authentic input must be geared to their proficiency level. The use of authentic texts as input does not imply that we should therefore abandon the use of materials created for instructional purposes. Rather, a blend of the two seems more appropriate. Krashen suggests that "...we can teach vocabulary, situational routines, grammar, whatever we like, and as long as we fill it with acquisition opportunities, as long as we keep providing

comprehensible input, we are contributing to natural language acquisition" (Krashen, 1982, p. 30). Another factor to consider is that students' proficiency levels in listening and reading may be well in advance of their proficiency level in speaking and writing. Students who could not handle certain materials well in the productive skills may be quite capable of comprehending them.

It is also important to remember that "natural language" includes the comprehensible input provided by teachers in everyday exchanges in the instructional setting that are communicative in nature, from giving directions to recounting personal anecdotes in the target language. The proficiency-oriented classroom is one in which such natural acquisition opportunities are exploited as fully as possible.

Hypothesis 2: Opportunities should be provided for students to practice carrying out a range of functions (task universals) likely to be necessary in dealing with others in the target culture. Traditional classroom instructional settings tend to limit the role of the student to that of "responder"; that is, students are most often asked to answer questions. In teacher-centered approaches, students are very seldom asked to make inquiries, act out simulated survival situations, narrate or describe events, hypothesize, argue, persuade, provide opinion, or carry out many other language functions that are necessary in everyday encounters with others in the target language. In many cases, functional practice of this sort is reserved for advanced conversation courses, many of which the majority of students never take. Proficiency-oriented methodologies should introduce students to a variety of functional tasks that have been carefully sequenced to help them cope with the real-world communication demands they will face.

Hypothesis 3. In proficiency-oriented methods there is a concern for the development of linguistic accuracy from the beginning of instruction. Reasons for this hypothesis have been argued elsewhere. (See Omaggio (1986).) The thrust of the hypothesis is that language learners need some kind of corrective and/or evaluative feedback in order to develop their language skills. This feedback may be indirect in nature and may be immediate or delayed, depending on the type of language activity in which the learner is involved. "Building toward accuracy" does not imply that students should be expected to produce only correct utterances or that an optimal methodology should provide "wall-to-wall insurance against error" (Stevick, 1980, p. 24). Learners obviously do not generally produce correct speech or writing when creating with the language. In addition, research has repeatedly shown that errors are very useful in determining an individual's current internalized rule system and yield important diagnostic information. Because proficiency-oriented methodologies encourage learners to create with the language and express their own meaning from the beginning of instruction, errors of all types are to be expected. We might, however, be able to help students produce more accurate speech if we adopt an "output hypothesis" similar to Krashen's

input hypothesis. That is, our methodologies might: 1) provide comprehensible input, in addition to formal instruction; 2) encourage students to express their own meaning within, or even slightly beyond, the limits of their current level of competence; and 3) consistently provide corrective feedback. Such an approach may produce more "comprehensible output" among our students at each stage of proficiency. It will also require the use of carefully structured activities that encourage self-expression, yet provide at some point for the monitoring and correction of errors.

The issue of error correction has been discussed at some length in the last several years, especially by those advocating the use of the "Natural Approach" in the classroom. (See, for example, Terrell (1982).) It seems, however, that those who argue that no error correction should take place in the classroom are, in actuality, advocating indirect correction via more comprehensible input. In other words, the real issue in this case is not whether or not errors should be corrected, but rather the degree to which errors should be directly pinpointed for students. Those advocating "no" error correction in the classroom are assuming that all learners can attend well enough to the indirect feedback they receive through further input and thus eventually self-correct. In "natural approach" methodologies, however, students are often given direct feedback in a more pin-pointed fashion on written homework outside of class, which compensates for the lack of such direct feedback in the classroom. In any case, the degree of the directness of feedback is not the central issue addressed in this hypothesis about proficiency-based instruction. Rather, it states that some form of corrective feedback needs to be given--whether it be written, oral, direct, or indirect--in order for students to progress in their language skills development.

Hypothesis 4. Proficiency-oriented methodologies respond to the affective needs of students, as well as to their cognitive needs. One of the hallmarks of several recent methodological developments is the greater emphasis on the affective aspects of learning and acquisition (for example, the "Counseling-Learning Approach," "Confluent Education," "The Natural Approach," and "Suggestology"). Proponents of "humanistic" methods believe that learning should be aimed at the deeper levels of understanding and personal meaningfulness to be maximally effective. Such methods emphasize the need to reduce anxiety and tension, which inhibit performance and create resistance to natural language acquisition and to learning. Stevick (1980) emphasizes the close relationship between poor performance and anxiety and tension in the learning environment (due to self-critique as well as criticism by others). This relationship is central to Krashen's "filter hypothesis," based on the concept of the "affective filter," somewhat akin to a mental block: "With acquirers who do not have self-confidence, where the situation is tense, where (in Stevick's words) they are on the defensive, the filter goes up" (Krashen, 1982, p. 25). When the affective filter goes up, the resultant feelings are

conflict, anxiety, aloneness, and a sense of guilt for failing. These feelings are clearly out of harmony with the best conditions for acquisition (Stevick, 1980).

Whether or not we agree *per se* with the need to include certain types of "affective activities" in the classroom, most language educators today would agree that students will probably achieve a given degree of proficiency more rapidly in an environment that is accepting, relaxed, and personalized.

Hypothesis 5. *Proficiency-oriented methodologies promote cutural understanding, and prepare students to live more harmoniously in the target-language community.* For many years, foreign language educators have been emphasizing the need to incorporate a cultural syllabus into the curriculum and to promote global awareness and cross-cultural understanding. (See, for example, Stern (1981).) The use of techniques to increase cultural understanding should receive a high priority in any task hierarchy that defines a proficiency-oriented method.

Comparing Methodologies: Some Concluding Remarks

Elsewhere, I have described a variety of methodologies in some detail and have compared their features in terms of their orientation towards the concept of proficiency (Omaggio, 1986). Space does not permit such an inventory here, but readers are invited to use the hypotheses outlined above to make some comparisons on their own and draw their own conclusions. As mentioned earlier, many educators have adopted an eclectic approach to teaching, using the best elements from the wide range of approaches available. Throughout history, resourceful teachers have used their own ideas to construct a methodological framework that suits their own personal teaching style as well as the needs and interest of their students. The new emphasis on proficiency can provide an organizing framework that will help both researchers and practitioners select, compare, and evaluate those strategies and approaches that seem most conducive to building language competence. Rather than being prescriptive or restrictive in nature, such a framework permits teachers the flexibility and creative freedom that are essential to the art of teaching.

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NOTE

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INTERPRETING INDIAN ENGLISH EXPOSITORY PROSE

Yamuna Kachru

Researchers interested in discourse analysis have recently begun to look into the question of what role sociocultural norms of a speech community play in determining the nature of written language. It is becoming increasingly clear that social perceptions of the nature of literacy, functions of literacy in a given sociocultural context, and conventions of verbal interaction have an effect on not only what, but how people write. Very few empirical studies, however, are available to illustrate the effect of sociocultural conventions of writing on texts produced in a given community. This study is an attempt to demonstrate that expository prose written in Indian English exhibits certain characteristics which are determined by the sociocultural conventions of writing in the Indian tradition. These features of Indian English texts are frequently judged to be inappropriate by the native speakers of American and British English, and mistakenly attributed to a lack of knowledge of the linguistic conventions of English on the part of the Indian English writers. The paper discusses data drawn from newspapers, magazines, books and papers on literary criticism, and textbooks and papers on linguistics, and points out the need for developing awareness and appreciation of different conventions of writing in non-native Englishes. A lack of such awareness and appreciation is bound to lead to failure in cross-cultural communication through the written mode in English.

INTRODUCTION

The unprecedented spread of English around the world has had several consequences for the language and its users - whether native or non-native. As a result of international acculturation of the language, several localized varieties have come into existence and there is serious concern about what is generally referred to as the problem of intelligibility among the users of different varieties. Although some work has been done on phonological and other linguistic factors responsible for intelligibility across speakers of different native and non-native varieties (see Smith and Nelson 1985), very little attention has been paid to other aspects of spoken/ written communication among speakers/writers/readers from different parts of the world (but, see Gumperz 1982a, 1982b, B. Kachru 1982, 1987, among others, for a beginning). It will not be an exaggeration to say that research in this area is still in the stage of consciousness raising. Nevertheless, the time has come to initiate serious empirical research into the factors that are responsible for success or failure in communication through the spoken as well as the written mode. Since expository writing is one important medium of written communication across cultures, this study is an attempt to characterize a set of factors that determine to a significant extent how texts created in a sociocultural context are interpreted by readers from a different sociocultural context. The set of factors I am referring to are linguistic as well as sociocultural.

A significant part of recent research in fields related to use of language such as sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, discourse analysis (including conversational analysis) has been concerned with how socio-cultural norms influence thought patterns (e.g., Kaplan 1966 (also, 1980), Scribner 1979, Tannen 1980), verbal interactions (e.g., Tannen 1984), patterns and use of literacy (e.g., Besnier 1986, Heath 1981, 1983, Scollon and Scollon 1981), and structure and strategies in written discourse (e.g., Whiteman 1981). This paper is a brief attempt to characterize conventions - both linguistic

and discourse structural - that are followed in Indian English writing and show that these derive from the conventions of Indian writing, i.e., writing in the languages of India. I am not arguing in favor of a wholesale transfer of conventions from Indian languages to Indian English, I only wish to demonstrate that familiarity with more than one set of conventions results in a totally new one which is neither identical with the native English, nor with the indigenous set. However, there is enough evidence that the new conventions share a significant subset of the indigenous features of writing.

I will first present some evidence to demonstrate that there is a set of conventions of writing that characterizes Indian writing as opposed to, say, German (Clyne 1981, 1987) or Japanese (Hinds 1981, 1983) writing. A comprehensive treatment of the topic, obviously, is beyond the scope of this paper. I will then present examples from Indian English writing to show that these follow the Indian conventions (in spirit if not in detail) rather than the norms of writing in the native English-speaking contexts (e.g., those of Britain or the U.S.A.). In conclusion, I will point out why research on writing conventions in international varieties of English is of crucial importance to the disciplines interested in cross-cultural communication.

INDIAN LINGUISTIC AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CONVENTIONS

As far as linguistic conventions are concerned, the claim that the Indian subcontinent constitutes a linguistic area has been explored in some detail and has been shown to be valid (Emeneau 1956, Ramanujan and Masica 1969, Masica 1976). In a recent Ph.D. dissertation, D'souza has presented convincing arguments to support her claim that India or South Asia is a sociolinguistic area as well (D'souza 1987). Both these claims are supported by evidence from several linguistic features uniquely attested in South Asian languages. In order to talk about conventions of writing, however, I have felt the need for referring to stylistic features as well. The total range of features that are essential to discuss the conventions of writing are thus the following:

(A) Conventions of Writing.

(1) Linguistic [i.e., phonology, morphology, lexis and syntax]

(2) Cultural

a. Discoursal [e.g., notions of cohesion (coherence), rhetorical structure, etc.]

b. Stylistic [e.g., idioms, notions of 'high style', 'images', 'allusions', etc.]

For the purposes of this paper, I will concentrate on selected aspects of word formation, syntactic constructions, and discoursal and stylistic conventions. A preliminary analysis of a large body of data suggests that these might be some of the most fruitful areas of investigation.

TRADITIONS OF WRITING IN INDIA VS. THE USA

Since it is impossible to treat the whole of India in a single limited study, let me take one example from the subcontinent to illustrate the point. In the overall context of Indian literatures, even a cursory glance at the history of Hindi literature makes it clear that Hindi is not the name of a language, rather, it is used as an apellation for a group of related languages/ dialects of the region known as *madhyadesha* in the north of India. I will not elaborate this point here (see Y. Kachru 1987b for a discussion of this point).

The history of Hindi literature begins around 800 A.D. In writing, the major tradition

that Hindi inherited was that of Sanskrit, and all the literary conceits and poetic conventions of Sanskrit are found in Hindi, too. It also adopted certain traditions of Perso-Arabic literature, under the influence of its close cousin, Urdu. Systematic development of prose in Hindi owes a great deal to the activities of the European missionaries in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. All the genres in prose, whether in literary or journalistic register, developed in the nineteenth century, and the language was gradually standardized between 1850 and the early decades of this century (See Rai 1984 for a detailed account of the development of Hindi and Urdu).

There is no tradition of rhetoric in the sense of "conventions of writing effectively for various purposes" in Hindi or any other modern Indian language. Composition is taught in schools, and essay writing continues at the college level. But there are no textbooks exclusively devoted to rhetoric in the above sense. There are textbooks on grammar and composition which contain grammatical descriptions, instructions and illustrations of parsing, a few remarks on organizing narrative, descriptive, argumentative, and personal essays, and a great many examples of ideal essays. Sometimes, a list of idioms, and a description of prosody are also included. Frequently, topics and outlines for writing essays are provided for teachers to use as homework assignments. The tradition of rhetoric in the sense of effective ways of conducting logical argumentation in the oral mode owes much to the tradition of the classical language, Sanskrit.

Existing accounts of Sanskrit tradition suggest that Indians 'think' in 'a circle or a spiral of continuously developing potentialities, and not on a straight line of progressive stages' as do the Westerners (Heimann 1964). The characterization of thought pattern of Indians as non-linear has been justified by pointing out the following facts: Indian concept of time is cyclic rather than linear; Indian logical syllogisms have a non-sequential structure (Das Gupta, 1975, p. 117); the melodic structure of Indian classical music is based on ten scale types which can be diagrammed as a circle (Jairazbhoy, 1975, p. 225); Indian art, especially the Buddhist frescoes at Ajanta, are non-lineal (Lannoy, 1971, p. 49), etc.

The non-linear structure of writing is widely attested in New Indo-Aryan languages as well. For instance, my earlier work on writing in Hindi (Y. Kachru 1983, 1987a) shows that the structure of expository essay in Hindi is spiral rather than linear, and the same pattern is encountered in Indian English expository writing as well (Y. Kachru 1987d). Similarly, Marathi is claimed to exhibit a circular structure in argumentative prose (Pandharipande 1983). The interaction of the oral and the literary traditions in India, extending over more than three thousand years, has been said to be responsible for the conventions of writing still followed in the Indian languages (Y. Kachru 1987d).

Although the relationship of 'thought patterns' to linguistic and rhetorical structures is debatable, it is clear that different language-speaking communities, and bi-/multilingual societies have developed different 'conventions' of speaking, writing, and other types of societal behavior. There is no doubt that the Indian conventions favor non-linearity, and looked at from the Western perspective, may seem to be 'circular' and hence, 'illogical'.

In view of the limitation of space I will refer to the conventions of writing in American English as an example of the native context.

According to Kaplan 1966 (also, 1980), the tradition of writing in English is based upon Platonic-Aristotelian thought patterns which are linear. The relationship between thought patterns and writing conventions is reflected in the paragraph structure in expository writing which "usually begins with a topic statement, and then, by a series of subdivisions of that topic statement, each supported by examples and illustrations, proceeds to develop that central idea and relate that idea to all other ideas in the whole essay, and then to employ that idea in proper relationships with the other ideas, to prove something, or perhaps to argue something." (Kaplan, 1980, p. 402) Kaplan then goes on to say that an English expository piece may employ either inductive or deductive reasoning.

Although concepts such as 'topic statement/ sentence' and 'inductive vs. deductive vs. mixed movement of paragraph' have come under increasing attack (e.g., see Winterowd, 1975a, p. 250), most texts on rhetoric still refer to these concepts and recommend editing paragraphs for 'clarity' and 'completeness' which in turn involve the concepts of topic sentence and linear development (see Winterowd, 1975b, p. 43; Young, Becker and Pike, 1970, pp. 321-326, among others).

For the discussion that follows, I will take the 'norm', or as D'Angelo calls it, the 'idealization' (1975, p. 26) of rhetorical structure reflected in Kaplan 1980 as representing the accepted norm of writing in American English, and contrast the discourse features of Indian English with them. The fact that the norm is not always, or even frequently, adhered to is not particularly relevant here, since the idealized norm generally determines a community's evaluation of other communities and their conventions. One has only to look at the studies in the field of teaching composition in the TESL/ TEFL context to be convinced of this (see, for example, the controversy generated by attempts at questioning the claims in Kaplan 1972 in the issues of TESOL Quarterly of September 1985 and September 1986).

DATA

The data for this study are drawn from several registers of Indian English (IE, hereafter), e.g., expository texts (genres of literary criticism and linguistics), academic writing on topics from education, and journalese (i.e., news articles and commentaries in newspapers).[1]

Linguistic Conventions

Consider the items underscored in text fragments presented in (B):

(B) Compounding.

(1) If we look at the quantum of firewood consumed in the cities, we can say that at least 2.3 million people must be engaged in *headloading* - bringing wood on their heads to sell in the towns - making the firewood trade the largest employer in the commercial energy sector of the country. ...Every *headloading* woman knows that the forest will soon be depleted ...
[*Surya*, Jan. '87, p. 33]

(2) The *jeep-taxi* skirts the Jaisalmer Fort ...
[*Frontline*, Jan. 24-Feb. 6, '87, p. 71]

(3) The streets are not more than three meters wide, cobbled and crowded with people, goats, cows, cyclists, *two-wheelers*,
[*Frontline*, Jan. 24-Feb. 6, '87, p. 80]

(4) You would get her on the telephone without any *star-excuses*...
[*Surya*, Jan. '87, p. 6]

(5) ...It is clear that his several stories here follow *emergency-propaganda* against strikes, rumours, hoarding, and so on.
[*IL*, 78, p. 200]

Compounds such as *headloading* and *star-excuses* are not attested in the native varieties of English. In fact, whereas it is at least possible to gather the meaning of the former in view of the explanation given in the text itself, it is difficult to see what the latter could mean. One has to be familiar with the total context of the text to extract the intended

meaning of the compound - the kind of excuses that film stars normally make in order to justify their reluctance to answer telephones or grant interviews. Similarly, *jeep-taxis* are jeeps that are for hire as taxis, and *two-wheelers* are motorized vehicles such as motorbikes; bicycles are excluded from the referents of the compound. Finally, the decoding of the compound *emergency-propaganda* demands a knowledge of the recent history of India - the propaganda that was carried out by the Government of India during the 'emergency period' between 1975-77. The processes followed in creating the compounds are not new, what is new is the product. Compounds such as *headloading*, of course, point to the need for systematic research into the productive processes utilized by the non-native varieties. Indian languages are notorious for their love of long nominal compounds and preference for compounding. In addition to compounding, there are other devices of word formation, such as hybridization, that augment the lexical stock of Indian English (See B. Kachru 1983 for a detailed discussion and exemplification of these processes).

The example in (C) illustrates the use of the syntactic device of a correlative construction:

(C) Correlative construction.

(1) ... they are brought up in *such* an atmosphere *where* they are not encouraged to express themselves upon such subjects in front of others ...
[Singh and Altbach, 1974, pp. 194-195]

(2) The position has traditionally belonged to *such* actresses *who* come to personify, at any given moment the popular ideal of physical beauty ...
[*India Today*, Sept. 30. '83, p. 44]

The correlative use of *such* with *where* or *who* is unattested in native varieties of English, the subordinators *where* and *who* by themselves are adequate for linking the two clauses in the two text fragments above. The use of *such* in (C1) for referring anaphorically to certain topics identified earlier in the text is, of course, in keeping with the conventions followed in the native varieties.

One could discuss other grammatical topics such as relative clauses and complements and show how the conventions of Indian English differ from native varieties. In view of the constraints of space, however, I would like to move on to the discoursal level.

Discoursal Conventions

I will confine my discussion to the cohesive devices of tenses, emphasis and linking only. Note the use of tenses is the text fragment in (D1):

(D) Cohesion.

(1) But significantly during the years 1976-77, a definite shift *is* noticeable in the poetic voices of the writers. They no longer *want to show* their anger - could it be because they *had displayed* too much of this so that nothing *had been left* behind - but reconciling themselves with the state of affairs they *went on looking* at life (perhaps wisely) fully understanding the realities of life. Therefore, in their poetry a better understanding of life and its problems and mysteries *would be reflected*. Though voices of anger *could be heard* in their poems the voices *are* not sentimental and exasperated but they *are* voices coming from a better understanding of life. ...
[*IL*, 1978, pp. 242-243]

The second sentence of the quote begins with a present tense verb - *want to show* -

and ends with a past tense verb - *went on* - after the adversative conjunction *but*. There are instances of such lack of tense sequencing or agreement in Indian English narratives, too, as has been shown in Nelson's study of Raja Rao's novel *Kanthapura* (Nelson 1985). It is not the case that a shift from present to past or vice-versa is not grammatical in the native varieties of English; the shift usually represents a shift in perspective, and is signalled by some contextualizing cue (Quirk et.al., 1985, pp. 1454-1460). There are no such cues in the text cited here, so it is difficult for a reader to interpret the significance of past vs. present in this case following the grammatical conventions of the native varieties. I have shown elsewhere (Y. Kachru 1983) that the conventions of use of tenses in narratives in Indic languages such as Hindi are different from those of English and seem to get transferred in English translations of Hindi narratives even when the translator is a native speaker of English (see, e.g., Roadarmel 1972).

The devices utilized for emphasis are variety-specific, too, as is clear from the example in (2) below:

(2) These writers have visualized and improvised story plots to convey grossly progressive ideas (or formulae). The names *alone* of characters in these stories are Kashmiri but they do not in any manner touch upon *typical* Kashmiri life *as such*.

[*IL*, 1973, p. 286]

The use of *alone* in example (2) is illustrative of how emphasis is achieved in IE. A speaker of a native variety of English is liable to find the use of *alone* puzzling. The intended meaning is *Only the names of the characters ... are Kashmiri...* Note also the use of the redundant use of *typical* and *as such* for emphasis. Gumperz 1982a and 1982b contain several examples of the devices utilized by the speakers of IE for emphasis and how these lead to misunderstandings in interactions with the British English speakers. The studies in these volumes also suggest that the IE usage reflects attempts to match the use of emphatic and limiting particles in Indic languages.

Examples (3) and (4) illustrate yet another convention of cohesion:

(3) ... In short, Nepali is the dominant language of the lower Himalayan and sub-Himalayan regions of India. *Besides this*, more than three million people who speak Nepali as their mother-tongue are spread over Assam, Mizoram, ...

[*IL*, 1973, p. 154]

(4) ... The Nainital lake, ..., is highly polluted and, therefore dangerous. ... This apart, Nainital, at present, has a highly inadequate sewerage capacity. ...

[*Probe*, Jan. '87, p. 88]

Note the use of the linking device *besides this* in the sense of *besides* in the first, and *This apart* in the sense of *in addition* for linking two paragraphs in the second excerpt. I have discussed elsewhere a few more examples of linking devices variety-specific to IE (Y. Kachru 1987d).

The next, a longer fragment under this heading, quoted in (5) below, provides a taste of the cumulative effect of several conventions unfamiliar to users of other varieties:

(5) In every field of activity today, there *seems* a certain furious *churning up* going on in the inexorable process of sociodynamics and that in the hope of finding suitable solutions for the many ills that have beset social and individual existence. Two major pulls seem to be tugging at each other: one is *of* newer and newer reforms in the socio-political field and the other is *towards* the revival of old values. Reforms are for immediate gains of organized groups struggling for social recognition, opportunities and a better status within the

> present framework, and revival for restoring *'the Glory that was Ind'* and for an enduring, value-based social order. The literary expression of the latter naturally acquires a nostalgic aura which is endearing to the traditionalist and irritating to the social realist. This polarity was experienced by Matthew Arnold in England in the 19th century *itself*. He projected it in the context of poetry as an opposition between 'Culture and Anarchy'. This polarity is modified by according to the nature of the particular culture and the *Time-spirit* prevailing in a particular country. ... So far as Marathi literature at the moment is concerned, *two major streams, in almost all literary forms*, can be detected. *One, of nostalgia for the ethical beauty of the old world and the other, for shaping a realistic future for the under-privileged and the outcastes of the society.* ...
>
> [*IL*, 1985, pp. 101-102]

First, the new phrasal and/ or prepositional verb *churning up*, the use of the demonstrative *that* following the conjunction *and* to link up with the *churning up*, the conjoining of phrases beginning with *of* and *towards*, the unexpected abbreviation in *'the Glory that was Ind'*, the use of *itself* in the sense of *as early as*, and finally, the compound *Time-spirit*, the mixed metaphor in *streams* followed by *forms*, and finally, the incomplete sentence (italicized). While it is difficult to claim that this is a typical paragraph of IE writing, it does point to the need for further research on conventions of writing in the international varieties in general.

A whole range of examples can be presented to show how IE extends or puts restrictions on rules of grammar and use of cohesive devices as compared to the native varieties of English and thereby creates a variety-specific grammar and principles of cohesion. The examples illustrating IE rules of usage can be shown to affect all topics in a grammatical description: articles, prepositions, countability of nouns, transitivity, tenses, aspects modals, complementation, relativizations, etc. But, that must await another and more detailed study.

Moving on to rhetorical structures, I will very briefly discuss the structure of paragraphs in IE expository writing.

Much has been written recently on the structure of paragraphs, including their psychological reality (see, e.g., Koen, Becker and Young 1969, Makino 1978, 1981), syntactic and/ or semantic bases of the perception of their coherence, and other such properties. In my earlier papers, I have attempted to show that the paragraph structure of Indian English is much looser as compared to that of the native varieties of English (Y. Kachru 1983, 1987d). Consider the excerpt in (E1) below:

(E) Rhetorical structure.

(1) SECULAR POETRY OF THE AGE OF DEVOTIONAL POETS

> Poetry written during *Bhakti kal* was predominantly devotional or spiritual. It included different varieties. The poetry of Kabir was different from that of Sur or Tulsi in many ways and the foreign associations of the Sufi poets marked them out. But invarably the theme and tone was non-secular. ... The climax was reached when devotional poetry attained maturity and final excellence in the reign of Akbar, the Great. Surdas and Tulsi Das lived and composed their best poetry during the reign of that great monarch, though they did not enjoy his direct patronage. [There were other poets, however, who came directly under the influence of the Emporer, who was a great lover of letters and patron of the learned and talented.] His court was a rendezvous of poets and philosophers whom he encouraged and rewarded munificently.
>
> The most prominent among the poets who lived in the court of Akbar

> were ..., but there were many others who either visited the court from time to time or enjoyed its rich amenities for fairly long periods. [The creations of these poets differ in many ways from those of the poets who belonged to the cult of Sur or Tulsi. They have no spiritual implications are of the earth, earthy. The motive is predominantly secular and often erotic.] ...
>
> [Dwivedi, 1966, p. 79]

The chapter heading sets up the expectation that the chapter will be concerned with secular poetry. The sentence enclosed in square brackets in the first paragraph seems to lead to a statement about the secular poets. But, the expectation is not fulfilled. The orthographic paragraph digresses into a description of Akbar's court, and the beginning of the second paragraph continues this digression. The theme of secular poets is picked up in the second sentence of the second paragraph, made more explicit in the third and fourth sentences, and continued to the end of the paragraph.[3] The second, third and fourth sentences are enclosed in square brackets as well.

The orthographic and semantic or thematic paragraphs need not be coextensive in Indian writing. Besides, a great deal of digression is tolerated in expository and other types of prose. In fact, as has been mentioned earlier in the paper, interesting suggestions have been made about Indian thinking in general being circular and/or spiral in works dealing with the history of Indian art, logic, music, literature, i.e., cultural history of India (e.g., Heimann 1964, Lannoy 1971). In view of the debate concerning the strong version of the Whorfian hypothesis, it seems unlikely that different communities have different thought patterns; it is more evident that different communities have different conventions for expressing thoughts appropriately.

Stylistic Conventions

A brief discussion of the stylistic conventions further illustrates the difference between the conventions of writing in American and Indian English. Note the creation of new idioms in Indian English (they are new in the sense that they are not found in the native varieties):

(F) Idioms.

> (1) Akhtar had already published some excellent short stories in Kashmiri when he received a call *to turn the sod in the field of the novel.*
>
> [*IL*, 1973, p. 293]

The idiom in (F1) is highly interpretable, though unusual according to the conventions of the native varieties.

The examples in (2-4) below illustrate a notion of 'high style' which is shared by Indic languages though not by the native varieties of English. Such overwhelming use of attributives, metaphors, etc. are rarely found in academic writing in the native varieties of English.

> (2) There is no need to despair. Urdu literature has at last come upon a patch of green in the barren wilderness. It should, indeed, serve as the harbinger of a new spring. What should have come at the end of this survey has pushed itself to the forefront to epitomise a whole period in a crisis-ridded phase of Urdu language and literature. Its significance lies in its cataclysmic awareness that it has unfolded.
>
> [*IL*, 1978, p.107]

> (3) Next to Subrahmania Bharati who lit the passion for freedom in the hearts of millions of his countrymen and made it glow into a blazing fire by virtue of

his soul-stirring verses in the first two decades of the present century, the most outstanding poet of Tamil Nadu was Desikavinayagam, dubbed Kavimani or the Bell of Poetry.

[*IL*, 1973, p. 97]

(4) ... Noam Chomsky, *a young rebel with a brain like a burning blue flame*, appeared on the linguistic scene with a book called ... which promised a new direction in linguistics.

[Krishnaswamy, 1971, p. 135]

Finally, let me present an example of imagery related to allusions typical to the Indian context:

(G) Imagery.

(1) Looking for Indianness can be as baffling as trying to scoop out the hypothetical soul from the human body. The expression Indian is itself an abstraction and hard enough to pin-point. Indianness is doubly so, not a little removed from the concrete or cement or reality as it confronts *the five horse senses and their charioteer, the mind behind.*

[*IL*, 1973, p. 5]

Note that the compound *horse sense* in (G1) has not been used in its usual sense, it has been used in the plural which warns the reader it is not to be taken as a native-variety item. The compound here means senses which are like horses - ever ready to bolt away. In Indian philosophical and religious literature, the five senses have often been compared to spirited horses and the mind, the controller of the senses, to a charioteer.

CONCLUSION

The examples presented here make it clear that Indian English writing represents attempts to transcreate the cultural norms of writing in the other tongue. I call it transcreation because it is not straightforward translation. In fact, a word to word translation of some of the excerpts quoted here into an Indian language such as Hindi does not make very good sense. But the effect that is created by the devices closely approximates the effect anticipated in comparable genres of writing in Indic languages. The perceptible difference in Indian English is attributable to this transcreation of conventions, and often leads to pragmatic failure in communication with the users of native varieties. More research is needed to gain insight into the productive processes of word formation, the limits of extension of grammatical rules or restrictions placed upon them, the patterns of use of cohesive devices and what they signal, and finally, the rhetorical structure of texts for an appreciation of the new varieties of English. Writing is an important mode of communication, and unless a reasonable level of communication is attained among the speakers of English all over the world, even the shared language may not insure us against the effects of the biblical Tower of Babel. Discourse analysis has so far largely dealt with texts produced in monolingual communities, a more complete understanding of text production and interpretation is impossible without a thorough analysis of texts produced in bi-/multilingual contexts as well. For instance, it is not possible to arrive at any conclusion about the nature of paragraph, or topic initiation, maintenance, and shift, without a thorough investigation of these phenomena in bi-/multilingual contexts. Professionals interested in Applied Linguistics and English as an International Language can hardly afford to ignore the challenge presented by the international varieties of the world language English.

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NOTES

[1]The following sources of data have been utilized in this study (the periodicals are listed following the books): Dwivedi, R. A. (1966). *A critical survey of Hindi literature.* Dehli: Motilal Banarsidass; Krishnaswamy, N. *An introduction to linguistics for language teachers.* Bombay: Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd.; *Indian Literature* (abbreviation: *IL*), a literary bi-monthly published by the Sahitya Akademi, New Dehli; *Probe* and *Surya*, monthly magazines published from Allahabad and New Dehli, respectively; and *Frontline* and *India Today*, fortnightly magazines published from Madras and New Dehli, respectively.

[2]This may be a translation of the German expression *Zeitgeist.* I am thankful to Phillip Morrow for pointing this out.

[3]Note that the antecedent of *these poets* in the second sentence of the second paragraph does not seem to be in the text quoted here. The chapter goes on to discuss poets who neither lived in Akbar's court, nor enjoyed his patronage in any way.

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THE EFFECTS OF SOCIALIZATION ON COGNITIVE STYLE AND SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING AMONG SOUTHEAST ASIAN REFUGEES

Dana Conner Ritchie

This paper investigates socialization practices and their relationship to cognitive style. Specifically, it examines the upbringing of Indochinese refugees in light of its relationship to cognitive style and discusses the implications of this for classroom learning. The research was conducted in a refugee processing center in the Philippines over a six month stay. One hundred eighty-one Kampuchean and Vietnamese refugee children were interviewed about their parents' child-rearing practices and significant differences between the two groups were found, suggesting that each group would possess differing cognitive styles. Next, test scores showing the progress of each group in learning English were analyzed. As expected from non-language measures, the Vietnamese scored significantly higher than the Kampucheans. Implications of this for language teaching and for learners are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

In the teaching of English as an international language, the perspectives taken and techniques employed in teaching emerge as the products of numerous factors. These variables range in scope from the perceived needs of the learners to the experiences of the instructor. In recent years, theorists in ESL have highlighted the significance of learner characteristics in their pursuit of new and better theories and techniques. One characteristic of students that has been shown to affect learning is cognitive style. Within cognitive style, the dimension of field dependence/field independence has been found to be highly relevant to educational problems (Witkin & Berry, 1975). Significantly, this dimension is a by-product of learners' cultural background. This suggests that the second language teacher, more than other educators, must cultivate a sensitivity to cultural factors that are responsible for variations among students and between students and the teacher.

The study reported here uses the construct of field dependence/field independence to explain the degree of language learning success that students experience when they are taught by methods that emphasize one cognitive style or another. The

literature reviewed in the first section shows that learners' cognitive style--whether field dependent or field independent--arises from the way they were reared as children and influences research undertaken with Vietnamese and Kampuchean refugees to expose their cognitive styles, their degree of English language skill, and to correlate the two. Implications of the study for teachers are discussed in the last section.

STUDIES OF COGNITIVE STYLE

The literature review that follows highlights the significant characteristics of cognitive style for this study. First, it shows that cognitive style is an outgrowth of how one is raised. Secondly, it reveals that cognitive style has an impact on learning.

Cognitive Style and Socialization

"Cognitive style" refers to the way that a person takes in and processes information, differences in the way that people think, perceive and learn (Witkin, Moore, Goodenough & Cox, 1977). Witkin has extensively investigated the field dependent/field independent dimension of cognitive style, also known as the global/articulated dimension. An individual's style of perception is identified on a continuum ranging from field dependent to field independent.[1]

Those identified as field dependent learners employ a global style of understanding that focuses on overarching concepts and ideas and perceives a field of ideas as a whole. Field independent learners possess a more analytical style and "learn best by formulating and testing hypotheses" (Celce-Murcia, 1985, p. 1). They perceive elements of a field as distinct entities capable of being separated (Witkin et al, 1977).

Witkin and Berry (1975) have found field dependence/field independence to be related to such cultural factors as socialization practices, degree of social "tightness", ecological adaptation, and biological effects. Among these, socialization practices have been the most widely examined. Because of this, Witkin states that field dependence/independence may be used in comparing certain cultural groups (Witkin, 1967). For example, field independence has been shown to result from less harsh socialization practices with encouragement of autonomous functioning and fewer ties to the group, while field dependence results from stronger ties to the group, more of an emphasis on conformity and strict or harsh socialization practices (Witkin and Berry, 1975).

Berry found significant differences in field dependence/field independence between the Temne tribe of Sierra

Leone and the Eskimo of Baffin Bay which were significantly related to differences in the severity of discipline and pressure toward conformity (Ramirez & Price-Williams, 1974). Dawson (1967a, 1967b) and Vernon (1967) reported a relationship between field dependence/field independence and degree of maternal strictness. Dawson also discovered an association between field dependence and severe physical punishment.

In Berry's (1966) study of the Eskimo and Temne cultures, he questioned subjects concerning the strictness of their parents towards them while they were growing up. Berry used this method, based on the assumption that degree of strictness would be an indicator of child-rearing practices found to be associated with the development of field dependence or field independence (Witkin & Berry, 1975). The question that Berry used was, "When you were growing up, did your mother (father) treat you very strict, fairly strict or not so strict?" (Berry, 1976, p. 141). [2]

MacArthur (1970, 1971) studied Iglooik Eskimos and reported a correlation between field independence and encouragement of initiative, resourcefulness, and encouragement of separation from family control. Mebane and Johnson's (1970) study of Mexican children revealed an association between field independence and low levels of punishment from the parents. Cohen (1969) reported an association between field independence and children raised in subcultures which "...encourage questioning of convention and an individual identity", while field dependence was associated with "...strictness of child rearing, emphasis on respect for authority, close ties to the mother and a more formal relationship with the father" (Ramirez & Price-Williams, 1974, p. 214).

There may even be differences in cognitive style between the mainstream culture and its subcultures. Evidence has revealed that Americans tend to fall on the field independent end of the continuum. Ramirez (1973) found that American teachers scored significantly more field independent than their Mexican-American students, but found no significant difference between those teachers and their Anglo-American students. Also, Ramirez and Price-Williams (1974) found a marked difference in cognitive style between Blacks and Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans in that the Mexican-American and Black children scored in a significantly more field dependent direction. Here the child-rearing practices of the Black and Mexican-American groups focused on strictness, respect for authority, close relationship to the mother and family loyalty. Anglo-Americans emphasized identity separate from the family, competitiveness, and allowed peer relationships to take priority over the family (Ramirez & Price-Williams, 1974).

A clear relationship has been established between the culture-specific nature of rearing children and their

development of a particular cognitive style. Does their style affect their orientation to the world of information?

Cognitive Style and Learning

Since cognitive style has its origin in a cultural-specific behavior, namely, child rearing, it is not surprising to find that learners from different cultural or subcultural backgrounds experience varying degrees of success in learning depending on the teaching methods used. For example, Ramirez and Price-Williams found that "...the cognitive style of most educational institutions [was not] consonant with that of most Mexican-American and Black children" (Ramirez & Price-Williams, 1974, p. 218). In addition, a field independent bias was found by Cohen (1969) in "...most educational environments and achievement and intelligence tests used in educational settings" (Ramirez & Price-Williams, 1974, p. 218).

In the area of language learning, Hansen (1984) studied the occurrence of field dependence/field independence in members of six Pacific island cultures studying ESL and found the cloze test biased in favor of field independent students.

The literature discussed above points to sets of co-occurring characteristics and behaviors. Strict upbringing, field dependence, and poor performance on certain types of educational tests form one set. Less strict upbringing, field independence, and better performance on other types of educational test form another set. While no one displays one set or another exclusively, since the sets are at the extremes of a continuum, the sets suggest directions for researchers to explore when analyzing different cultures. Do these characteristics fall into the same sets for cultural groups other than those cited?

CHILD REARING AND LANGUAGE LEARNING AMONG REFUGEE CHILDREN

Child rearing practices have emerged as significant variables to be examined in the study of factors affecting the development of field dependence/field independence. Cognitive style, in turn, has an impact on learning. The study discussed below examined this train of connections among two different cultural groups, Kampuchean and Vietnamese, as represented by refugee children who were at a Philippine processing center in 1985. The principal questions raised by this study are these: Do the two groups of children differ significantly in how they were reared? Do the two groups of children differ significantly in their success at learning English? Are the differences in child rearing and in language learning correlated in the expected way?

Subjects

The subjects for the study were 108 Kampuchean and 73 Vietnamese refugees aged 7 to 15. The students were enrolled in Agency X's ESL program between August and October of 1985. Classes were divided according to nationality group and level of English proficiency, each one lasting fourteen weeks. Although most of the Kampuchean subjects were born in Kampuchea, they had been raised by their parents in refugee camps located in Thailand, having been uprooted from their country by adverse circumstances. The Vietnamese subjects were born and raised in Vietnam and had left their countries only a few months before. A portion of these children were Amerasian, having been fathered by American soldiers. However, they were not raised under the American influence of American culture since none of them knew their fathers. A tally of these subjects was not taken since this was perceived to be a sensitive subject for the children.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire was constructed using items taken from previous studies testing for the relationship between child-rearing practices and field dependence/field independence done by Berry (1966), MacArthur (1970, 1971), Mebane and Johnson (1970) and Dawson (1967a, 1967b). Next, the questionnaire was translated into Kampuchean and Vietnamese by native speakers and then backtranslated into English by different native translators to insure accuracy of interpretation. The questions of the questionnaire provided the structure for the interviews.

Interview Procedures

Subjects for interviewing were taken from classes whose teachers volunteered to allow their students to be interviewed. After this, the students were asked to volunteer to answer some questions about their families and told that these questions would be asked in their native language. All of the students who were asked agreed to participate.

The interviewers were given the questionnaire both in English and their native language. They then read the questions to the students individually and translated the answers back into English for the researcher. One group of interviews was done by an American male who spoke Vietnamese as his second language. This was necessary when the Vietnamese translator was unavailable. All of the interviews were done in the classroom or just outside if class was being conducted. Finally, all of the interviews were usable.

Results

The resulting data yielded various descriptive statistics

pertaining to the two groups. The variables investigated were the subjects' previous schooling, the number of parents they had, the strictness of their upbringing, and the nature of punishment that had been administered to them. Achievement in English was measured using Agency X's records of 139 separate test scores taken within the previous six months.

Previous schooling. The variable of previous schooling was included because it was thought to possibly have an affect on the students' success in ESL. For example, perhaps subjects who had experienced more classroom education than others would achieve greater success in ESL because they were accustomed to a classroom setting. Thus, the question was included to gain a general idea of the characteristics of the education each group had received and to note how this related to their success in ESL. Eighty-nine per cent of the Kampucheans and 82% of the Vietnamese had attended school in the past (see Table 1). However, the Kampucheans had gone to school only up to four years in Thai refugee camps, not in Kampuchea. The Vietnamese had attended school in Vietnam up to ten years depending on their age. Thus, the majority of both groups had attended school but the amount of schooling achieved by each group greatly differed. Possibly this difference could contribute to the greater achievement in ESL of one group over another.

Table 1

Previous School Attendance by Nationality

School Attendance	Kampuchean		Vietnamese		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	96	88.8	59	80.8	115	85.6
No	12	11.1	14	19.2	26	14.4
Total	108	99.9*	73	100.0	181	100.0

N = 181
x = 16.3, significant at 0.01 level
* result of rounding

Number of parents. The status of subjects' parents was determined because the role of each parent, such as a dominance in the mother, has been shown to relate to cognitive style (Ramirez and Price-Williams, 1974). Also, later questions in the survey asked subjects to compare their parents' rearing styles. If a subject only had one parent, then these questions were omitted.

A great number of those interviewed came from single parent families (see Table 2). Among the Kampucheans, about 68%

Table 2

Number of Parents by Nationality

Number of parents	Kampuchean N	Kampuchean %	Vietnamese N	Vietnamese %	Total N	Total %
Both parents	73	67.6	36	49.3	109	60.2
Mother only	31	28.7	28	38.4	59	32.6
Father only	1	.9	4	5.5	5	2.8
No parents	3	2.8	5	6.8	8	4.4
Total	108	100.0	73	100.0	181	100.0

N = 181
x = 8.7, significant at 0.05 level

had both parents, while about 49% of the Vietnamese had both parents. About 29% of the Kampucheans and 38% of the Vietnamese had a mother only and a small percentage of each had only a father or no parents at all and were with other relatives. Chi-square showed there to be a significant difference between the two groups at the 0.05 level. Thus, significantly more Vietnamese children were raised by their mothers only. Since maternal dominance has been linked with a field dependent cognitive style in the past, an upbringing with a mother only could possibly foster the development of a field dependent cognitive style.

Strictness of Upbringing. The next few questions dealt with strictness of upbringing. Degree of harshness in child rearing has been measured in various ways because of its relationship to the field dependence/independence dimension of cognitive style. As such, a greater degree of strictness has been associated with the tendency toward a field dependent cognitive style. The questions used all were taken from previous studies designed to measure this relationship.

The first question of this type was phrased: "Is your mother or father more strict with you?" (See Table 3). This question was asked as an indicator of maternal dominance. About 69% of the Kampucheans and 51% of the Vietnamese reported that their mothers were stricter, while 11% of the Kampucheans and about 15% of the Vietnamese reported a stricter father. About 19% of the Kampucheans and 26% of the Vietnamese reported that their parents were of the same strictness. Although chi-square showed there to be no significant difference between the two groups, in both groups the majority of subjects reported that their mothers were stricter, a characteristic that has been associated with field dependence.

Table 3

Stricter Parent by Nationality

Stricter parent	Kampuchean N	Kampuchean %	Vietnamese N	Vietnamese %	Total N	Total %
Mother	50	68.6	20	51.3	70	62.5
Father	8	11.0	6	15.4	14	12.5
Same	14	19.2	10	25.6	24	21.4
Other **	1	1.4	3	7.7	4	3.6
Total	73	100.1 *	39	100.0	112	100.0

N = 121 (includes children with two parents only)
x = 4.9, no significant difference
* result of rounding
** respondent didn't know or mentioned another family member.

The next question of this type was "Does your mother or your father punish you more?" (See Table 4). This was also used as an indicator of which parent dominated in child rearing. Among the subjects, 53% of the Kampucheans and 44% of the Vietnamese with both parents reported that the mother punished more. The father was reported to punish more by 33% of the Kampucheans and 36% of the Vietnamese. A smaller percentage reported the same amount of punishment from both parents. Chi-square showed a significantly greater number of Kampucheans were punished by their mothers than Vietnamese.

Table 4

Parent Who Punishes More by Nationality

Parent who punishes more	Kampuchean N	Kampuchean %	Vietnamese N	Vietnamese %	Total N	Total %
Mother	39	53.4	17	43.6	56	50.0
Father	24	32.9	14	35.9	38	34.0
Same	10	13.7	0	0.0	10	8.9
Other **	0	0.0	8	20.5	8	7.1
Total	73	100.0	39	100.0	112	100.0

N = 181*
x = 20.8, significant at 0.01 level
* includes children of one parent only
** respondent didn't know or mentioned another family member

Next subjects were asked to rate their parents' degree of strictness (See table 5). The question used was taken from Berry's study (Berry, 1976) in which he found a greater degree of strictness to be related to a greater degree of field

dependence. It was phrased, "When you were growing up did your parents treat you very strict, fairly strict, or not so strict?" This question was chosen to indicate degrees of strictness, a characteristic which has co-occurred in the past with degrees of field dependence/field independence.

About 89% of the Kampucheans reported that their parents were "very strict" while about 23% of the Vietnamese reported that their parents were "very strict". Next, about 10% of the Kampucheans reported that their parents were "not so strict," while about 59% of the Vietnamese reported that their parents were "not so strict". Chi-square showed there to be a significant relationship between degree of strictness rating and nationality.

Dawson has also reported that the presence of physical punishment and severe discipline are related to a field dependent cognitive style (Berry, 1976). Table 6 reports the answers to the question, "What form of punishment do your parents use most often with you: physical, verbal scolding, deprive of privileges or some other?". About 48% of the Kampucheans and about 19% of the Vietnamese reported that physical punishment was used the most. The majority of the Vietnamese interviewed reported that their parents verbally

Table 5

Rating of Parental Degree of Strictness by Nationality

Degree of Strictness	Kampuchean N	Kampuchean %	Vietnamese N	Vietnamese %	Total N	Total %
Very strict	89	82.4	16	22.8	105	58.0
Fairly strict	7	6.5	10	13.7	17	9.4
Not so strict	11	10.2	43	58.9	54	29.8
Other *	1	.9	4	5.5	5	2.8
Total	108	100.0	73	100.9 **	181	100.0

N = 181
x = 67.64, significant at 0.01 level
* respondents didn't know
** result of rounding

scolded them. Chi-square showed there to be a significant relationship between nationality and type of punishment used. Thus, the Kampucheans used significantly more physical punishment than the Vietnamese, a characteristic that has co-occurred with a tendency towards field dependence in the past.

Table 6

Punishment Used Most Often by Nationality

Form of punishment	Kampuchean N	Kampuchean %	Vietnamese N	Vietnamese %	Total N	Total %
Physical	52	48.2	14	19.2	66	36.5
Verbal scolding	39	36.1	34	46.6	73	40.3
Deprive privileges	7	6.5	21	28.8	28	15.5
Other **	10	9.3	4	5.5	14	7.8
Total	108	100.1 *	73	100.1*	181	100.1*

N = 181
x = 25.93, significant at 0.01 level
* result of rounding
** respondents didn't know or reported no punishment

These findings about how strictly parents rear their children suggest, if previous research is correct, that the Vietnamese children will have a more field independent cognitive style, while the Kampuchean children will have a more field dependent cognitive style. If this is the case, then, at the hands of their American teachers who have a field independent cognitive style, we might expect the language learning performance of one group of students to be significantly different from that of the other group. Do such differences in performance show up?

Language learning achievement. For this study, achievement in ESL is measured by the number of levels advanced by each student between pre-testing and post-testing as administered by Agency X. One hundred thirty-nine pre-test and post-test scores were analyzed for the level of advancement from level 0 during the 14 week ESL classes taught by American teachers. Table 7 indicates that about 38% of the Vietnamese advanced 3 to 5 levels from level 0, while about 13% of the Kampucheans advanced to these levels. About 64% of the Vietnamese and 86% of the Kampucheans advanced 0 to 2 levels from level 0. Chi-square showed that the independent variable, nationality, is significantly related to the dependent variable, levels advanced in ESL. Thus, between the two nationalities, the Vietnamese achieved significantly greater success than the Kampucheans between pre-testing and post-testing.

Why should learners with a more field independent cognitive style be more successful at language learning than those with a more field dependent cognitive style? Several studies have been done to determine the effects of matching similar or different cognitive styles of teachers and students. Kleinmann (1982) indicated that language learning is facilitated to the extent that learners' characteristics are in harmony with that of instructors and that learning is impaired

Table 7

Progress in ESL by Nationality of American-taught Students

Levels progressed	Kampuchean N	Kampuchean %	Vietnamese N	Vietnamese %	Total N	Total %
5	0	0	7	8.9	7	5.0
4	3	5.0	6	7.6	9	6.5
3	5	8.3	17	21.4	21	15.1
2	15	25.0	27	34.1	42	30.2
1	30	50.0	19	23.9	49	35.3
0	7	11.7	5	6.3	12	8.6
Total	60	100.0	79	102.2*	139	100.7*

N = 139
x = 19.24, significant at 0.01 level
* result of rounding

to the degree that these characteristics are not compatible with instructors'. He lists some of these characteristics as learner's preferred pedagogical techniques and materials, learning strategies, and learning objectives. Thus, language learning would be to a greater extent facilitated when the cognitive styles of teachers and learners are matched.

Next, Konkiel (1981) has maintained that it is not content alone, but the way in which it is presented which influences the degree to which the learner will accomplish his educational goals. Since people experience maximal learning potential when they are instructed in a manner that is consistent with their cognitive style, identifying such in an individual will guide teachers in facilitating maximum learning for their students. Finally, DiStefano (1971) compared cognitive styles of students and teachers and found that teachers perceive more favorably and tend to give better grades to students whose cognitive styles are similar to their own.

Taken together, the findings on socialization practices and the findings on language learning achievement suggest that the compatibility or incompatibility of cognitive styles between students and teacher may be responsible for the differences in student performance.

IMPLICATIONS

The literature on cognitive styles and the research on refugee children point to some specific and practical suggestions that may serve ESL/EFL teachers.

First, teachers should be aware that all Southeast Asians are not alike. Because most Asian refugees coming to the United

States have been labeled as Indochinese, there has been a tendency to consider them as representing the same cultures. If teachers are going to be concerned about learner characteristics, they must realize that these groups differ culturally and linguistically. Their special inclinations and orientations should be recognized and used profitably in instruction.

Second, teachers should become acquainted with their own cognitive styles. They should avoid the temptation to think that theirs is the only right way to approach subject matter. By knowing who they are--as more or less field independent--they will be better prepared to anticipate the problems that their teaching techniques might make for certain students.

Third, if cognitive style affects teaching and learning styles, then a worthy objective in instruction would be to avoid mismatching teaching and learning styles. To achieve this objective, who should change where a potential mismatch exists? Ramirez (1982) suggests that teachers are the ones who should accommodate. He stated that learning should be facilitated by "providing learning situations that reinforce the students' preferred or familiar ways of learning" and by helping them become functional and successful in new types of learning situations with which they are not familiar (Ramirez, 1982, p. 6). Ways of matching teaching and learning styles are suggested below.

Fourth, teachers should become familiar with the teaching techniques and approaches that work well with learners who have different cognitive learning styles. Ramirez (1982) has outlined characteristics of each learner and has suggested some possible learning strategies to use with them. Field dependent learners prefer to work with and assist others to achieve goals and are sensitive to others' opinions. Field independent learners prefer to work individually and competitively, and remain task-oriented, oblivious to the social environment. Field dependent learners seek to cultivate a positive personal relationships with the teachers while the field independent learners restrict their interaction to that centering around the task. Next, field dependent learners seek guidance, positive sanctions and motivation from teachers to strengthen their relationships, while the field independent learners prefer to work without the teacher's help, like to finish first, and "[seek]s non-social rewards" (Ramirez, 1982, p. 14).

In the area of thinking style, learning is facilitated for field dependent learners when the objectives are carefully explained, concepts come across in a humanized form and content is relevant to personal experience. Field independent learners focus on detail, "[do] well with math and science concepts" and like "discovery or trial-and-error learning" (Ramirez, 1982, p.14).

Teaching strategies that work well with field-dependent learners include expressing confidence in the students, making goals clear, encouraging "learning through modeling", stressing group activities, and providing "opportunities for students to see how the activities are related to their personal experiences" (Ramirez, 1982, p.15). Teaching strategies for field independent learners include: encouraging individual effort, achievement, and competition; assisting students only when they ask for help; stressing discovery learning and focusing on a task orientation (Ramirez, 1982).

The various implications mentioned here point to the need for further research. For example, research into the cognitive styles of different cultural groups would help teachers who do not have the time or expertise to test their students themselves. Linguists have mapped out problem areas in English for people coming from different language groups, why not do the same with cognitive styles? If we could determine the cognitive style that Vietnamese tend to have or that Kampucheans tend to have, we would know much more about our students even when only knowing their nationality. Such a guide could suggest which strategies would most likely work best and which should eliminated before even starting to teach.

Research into appropriate responses to different cognitive styles is also needed. Would the curriculum be based on the predominant style of the students in the class, or would teachers attempt to teach some students using certain strategies and others using other strategies?

A consideration of teaching and learning styles may contribute to better learning environment, but it will not yield a guaranteed recipe for success. There are other variables involved in making a class work. Factors such as educational background, time spent in class, and students' degree of motivation all play an important role in language learning.

CONCLUSION

Cultures color and shape people's perspective on reality. Even if students conform to the dress, language, and customs of a new culture, their thinking will always be shaped by their native culture to some degree. Thus, when communicating and teaching across cultures we must remember to meet the students on their plane, to teach according to their needs. If this means modifying our teaching styles to accommodate their learning styles, so be it. It may produce speakers with greater fluency and easier adjustment in the long run.

It is hoped that this aspect of learner characteristics-cognitive style - will be the subject of further study both in

education in general and specifically in ESL where it holds particular relevance. The evidence presented here should be considered when designing curricula and techniques in order to meet students' individual needs and hopefully be a motivation to further study of the role of culture in second language learning.

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Dana Conner Ritchie has been a graduate student at Wheaton Graduate School in Illinois. She was an undergraduate sociology major when she conducted this research as an ESL teacher in the Philippines.

NOTES

[1] The sociolinguist, Basil Bernstein, has also dealt with similar concepts, showing the effects of socialization on language production (elaborated versus restricted codes). For a critical discussion of Bernstein's work and references, see Norbert Dittmar, A Critical Survey of Sociolinguistics: Theory and Applications (1976: St. Martin's Press, New York). See particularly pages 258-260.

[2] The terms "very", "fairly", and "not so" strict are relative to the culture of the evaluator, so that what is considered strict by the standards of one culture may be regarded as lax by the standards of another. Thus, this may not appear to be a valid question. However, in this case the question was used to find the perceived degree of strictness in each culture. The results from the two cultures are comparable since what is being measured is not an amount of strictness on absolute scale, but rather their perception of the strictness.

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EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

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Second language acquisition (SLA) and foreign language learning (FLL) have been and continue to be viewed by many as largely unrelated fields of research or at best being only weakly connected. Over ten years ago, Frechette (1976) noted that,

> By and large, observation of classroom practices and talks with classroom teachers have revealed that many feel a large portion of [second language acquisition research] efforts are of little relevance to them... (p. 377).

While it is undeniable that early psycholinguistic research in SLA which concentrated on morpheme studies and error analysis of the speech of learners of English was limited in scope, is it true some twelve years later that SLA research offers little to those in FLL? As recently as 1985, Higgs voiced a concern similar to Frechette's observation:

> One final point is that the majority of the research literature cited in support of the claims for the Input Hypothesis [e.g. Krashen 1982] assumes a second language or an immersion environment, not a foreign language situation...Offering this same literature in support of a foreign language pedagogy extrapolates what is arguably true for one kind of environment into a very different environment, with few experimental data... (p. 202).

This perception implies that the psycholinguistic development found in SLA is somehow different than that found in FLL and that a different theory of psycholinguistics (and probably any other field of language study) is somehow necessary to account for FLL. Yet, there are two aspects of Higgs' comment that deserve attention. The first is that much of current FL reaction to SLA research and theory building is a reaction to Krashen's Monitor Theory (in particular his Input Hypothesis). It is not a reaction to SLA research in general and most FL professionals have had little to say about other models proposed to account for SLA, e.g. Schumann's Acculturation Hypothesis, Andersen's Nativization Model. The second important feature to note in Higgs' statement is that few empirical data have been collected on the psycholinguistic development of classroom language learners. If this is true, then the question is raised as to

just what SLA researchers and FL researchers have been investigating and, if they have been pursuing different issues, why this is so.

As VanPatten (this volume) observes, historically, SLA research rose out of the investigation of the acquisition of English as a second language (ESL). As such, much of the research done on learners of ESL has taken place in the United States and not in countries where English would be considered a foreign language (the notable exceptions being some of the work in Germany and the Netherlands). Due to its traditional roots in English, to the traditional link between "applied" linguistics and linguistics "proper," and to the connection with child first language acquistion research paradigms, SLA research generally came forth from persons with extensive backgrounds in both linguistics and psycholinguistics. This has been compounded by the research in pidgins and other 'natural' second langaguges which also fall under the rubric of linguistic studies.

On the other hand, FLL has traditionally been associated with schools of education. It was assumed that anything dealing with the classroom learner, regardless of discipline, was the domain of educational research. What occurred over time, then, was a belief that the learning of languages in American high schools and universities was an "academic" problem to be investigated by specialists in education, while the learning of a second language was a "linguistic" problem to be investigated by linguists and psycholinguists. Within this context, research on FLL has been directed almost exclusively at the investigation of methodology. As VanPatten, Dvorak, and Lee (1987) point out,

> Underlying this emphasis on methodology has been the basic assumption that classroom language learning, like a clear plastic bag reveals the nature of the instruction that is poured into it but without shape or color of its own. What students learn and how well they learn was assumed to be primarily a result of how they were taught. (p. 1).

We should point out here that, beyond the confines of the U.S., concerns about the relationship between SLA research and theory and other fields of language study have been raised as well. Sridhar and Sridhar (1986), for example, have observed that SLA research/theory and research on indigenized varieties of English (IVEs) have tended to ignore each other, resulting in an "absence of dialogue." These authors note that SLA cannot be all encompassing if it ignores IVEs and that researchers in IVEs do not contribute empirically or theoretically to language acquisition studies. Kachru (1986) has also remarked on the limits of SLA research and theorizing. Using a non-Western perspective, she notes the absence of a non-Western context in building toward a theory: "Unless the data base of research in these areas is expanded, the claims to universality of research findings in second

language acquisition will remain suspect for most of the non-Western world" (p. 35).

While acknowledging the world context of foreign language learning, we believe that the time is ripe for second and foreign language specialists in the U.S. to begin critically examining the relationship between SLA and FLL. On April 3 and 4, 1987, a conference was held at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign which was dedicated to exploring this relationship and to bringing L2 and FL researchers together. Three general questions were posed to reflect the theme(s) of the conference:

(1) Do classroom language learners, without access to a second language speech community, necessarily follow different paths in the acquisition of linguistic structure compared to those who acquire a second language either naturalistically or in a natural environment where instruction is also used?

(2) Are SLA and FLL fundamentally different in terms of the process(es) used to internalize language?

(3) What is the relationship between SLA and FLL at the level of theory?

With these questions as guiding themes, 39 papers were presented from researchers in the U.S., Europe, Japan, and Australia. The papers treated a variety of topics including interlanguage theory and description, fossilization and accuracy, the social context of language learning, strategies, reading, application and evaluation.

The four papers that we have gathered here were presented at the Illinois SLA-FLL conference. Included are the two keynote addresses which address the relationship between SLA and FLL at the level of theory. The speakers, Roger Andersen and Sandra Savignon, were selected as each is a major figure in the fields of SLA and FLL, respectively. Another feature of the conference was a special panel discussion of four invited speakers in which two representatives of SLA and two of FLL were asked to address any of the following issues:

(1) How can the relationship between SLA and FLL be conceptualized?

(2) Where does SLA overlap with FLL? Where do they differ? What are the common concerns? What are the divergent concerns?

(3) What research needs to be undertaken to explore further the relationship between the two?

(4) What problems are there in applying SLA (or FLL

for that matter) to foreign language education?

(5) Is classroom language learning the province of educational theory? Is there a theory of classroom language learning that is different from a general theory of classroom education?

(6) What are the parameters/limitations of classroom language learning? What can or does instruction impact on?

(7) Is FLL an independent field of research? Should we be working toward a separate theory of FLL? Is the classroom setting so unique that SLA research can not be applied to it?

Only two of the four panel presentations have been chosen for inclusion here, the papers by Kramsch and VanPatten. We believe that these more effectively lead into the papers by Savignon and Andersen such that the topics treated in these four papers can be placed along a continuum from FL education at one end to SLA theory at the other.

Kramsch asks the question, "What is FLL research?" In her paper she explores the links between SLA, FLL and FL education by illuminating different but similar concerns which permeate each. This exploration takes the form of an outline of five major aspects implicit in any serious investigation of the question posed by her title: the FLL setting, the object of FLL research and the methods employed to bring it about, and the concepts of language and language learning both explicit and implict in such research. In her conclusion she suggests a research agenda which "is hardly touched upon by current research in SLA and . . . has been neglected by FL pedagogy." Kramsch's final remark can be viewed as a challenge to teachers when she suggests that teachers should possess the knowledge to help them bring about changes in the educational system.

Following Kramsch is the paper by Savignon. In a sense, she picks up Kramsch's challenge and suggests to the FL professional how that challenge can be met by arguing that "in the end, nothing is more practical than a good theory." In her discussion, Savignon accounts for the FL profession's apparent impatience with theory and then goes on to discuss responsible theory building. She observes that the underlying "problem" for many teachers is that theory is not usually technique, that research offers implications for practice and not (necessarily) the practice itself. The route is circuitous, not direct. Implicit in this claim is that the product of teacher education is precisely education (as opposed to training) such that teachers then have the ability to (1) create curricula and techniques on their own in a principled fashion and (2) evaluate techniques and methods suggested to them by others.

VanPatten echoes Savignon's concern for responsible theory building by addressing the relationship between SLA and FLL vis a vis research and theory. Rejecting the position that SLA and FLL are only weakly connected, he also rejects what he perceives to be the present unidirectional relationship of producer of theory (SLA) and consumer of theory (FLL). He then examines an alternative bidirectional relationship in which both SLA and FLL researchers contribute to theory building. In this proposed relationship, VanPatten offers specific examples of how SLA theory is benefitted by research in the FL context and even suggests that "a theory of SLA is a product of research in different contexts of non-primary language acquisition rather than a precusor." He concludes his paper by suggesting several practical ways in which SLA and FL professionals can be brought together on a more regular basis.

Like VanPatten, Andersen suggests that at the level of theory building, there is an important and direct relationship between SLA and FLL. In his paper, he carefully details a cognitive-interactionist model of SLA based on principles, processes, and strategies of language learning. As he discusses this model, Andersen provides several concrete research projects for the FLL context which could contribute to the development of this model. He concludes his paper with a succinct statement about the relationship between SLA and FLL: "Nonclassroom-focussed SLA research stands to gain much from classroom-centered research and classroom-centered research can benefit considerably from the type of research carried on in settings outside of the classroom."

These four papers cannot be viewed as having answered the questions posed as to how SLA and FLL relate to each other. We hope, rather, that they are received as points of departure for further analysis and discussion of what must, from an outsider's viewpoint, look like similar fields. As such, we hope that they generate discussion among students and professors, among practitioners in ESL and FL, and among the very researchers themselves who are attempting to define and explain the complex phenomenon known as language acquisition.

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IDEAL 3, 1988

WHAT IS FLL RESEARCH?

Claire J. Kramsch

This paper examines the relationship between three areas of research that bear on the teaching of foreign languages in educational settings--second language acquisition research (SLA), foreign language (FL) education, and foreign language learning (FLL) research--and attempts to define the latter. As an area of inquiry, the field of FLL is characterized by specific features of its setting, its object of research, its method of investigation, its concept of language and of language learning. A research agenda is suggested that takes into account both the psychological and the social dimensions of language learning in classrooms.

As foreign language teachers turn to applied linguistics to understand the way people learn foreign languages in instructional settings, they encounter two relevant research strands, second language acquisition (SLA) and foreign language learning (FLL) research that have emerged in recent years. The question, "What is the relationship between SLA and FLL and what can each contribute to teaching foreign languages in classrooms?" is an important one. Yet, as linguists are busy discussing theoretical issues, language teachers have to help solve urgent matters of foreign language policy with or without the help of SLA or FLL research. For example, in Germany, a theoretically oriented SLA (Wode, 1985; Felix and Hahn, 1985) vies with an empirical FLL research (e.g. Koordinierungsgremium, 1983; Bausch and Königs, 1983, 1985; Bausch, 1986) for the favors of foreign language teachers and learners while 4 1/2 million foreigners need to be integrated linguistically and socially into German society and economy. In the U.S., the two strands of SLA, the universal-grammar oriented (e.g. Flynn, 1987) and the broader psycholinguistics strands (e.g. Seliger and Long, 1983; Gass and Madden, 1985) seem to have been short-circuited to a certain extent by a foreign language pedagogy that is responding to urgent national priorities under the pragmatic principle of "proficiency" (e.g. Higgs, 1984). Here, as in Germany, the lack of sufficient information on the complex factors involved in foreign language learning have left classroom teachers to their own devices. Turning to foreign language education, they take some ideas from first or second language acquisition research to the extent that they fit into their procedural agenda, and for the rest they follow general educational methods that work.

FLL VERSUS SLA AND FL EDUCATION

FLL in educational settings--and I will concentrate on educational settings rather than general instructional

settings--is currently the immediate concern of neither SLA research nor FL education research. SLA research, within a theoretical linguistics framework, is concerned mostly with the biological and psychological processes of learners in and out of classrooms. It asks such questions as: How do learners acquire L2 structures irrespective of such external factors as setting, instruction, etc.? What are the universal sequences of acquisition impervious to manipulation because they are biologically founded? Psycholinguistic SLA asks in addition: How is language learning linked to motivation, cognitive development, and degree of socialization of the learners? In both cases, SLA research is centered on the learner as an independent biological and psychological entity. It uses mostly quantitative methods of investigation. Until recently, SLA classroom research has used mostly interactional analysis or analysis of the surface features of discourse. But for a few exceptions, it has not attempted to interpret the phenomena observed in the light of their social context. Classroom studies have been mostly of the "input-output variety," correlating, for example, certain learner characteristics or strategies with second language achievement. Furthermore, up to now, most classroom-oriented SLA research has been conducted in ESL classrooms, in which the teacher is a native speaker, not in FL classes, for example in U.S. secondary public schools.

The other branch of research, FL education, is mainly concerned with the procedural aspects of the transmission of knowledge, be it a foreign language or any other sort of knowledge. The questions it asks are more of the type: How can we better help learners become proficient in a foreign language? (e.g. Omaggio, 1986) It is centered on the teachers not on the learners, and on teachers' need to conduct foreign language lessons. Neither psycholinguistic SLA nor FL education research address the essential aspect of FLL, namely the socially and instructionally mediated acquisition of a foreign language in a classroom setting.

As an area of inquiry, the field of FLL is characterized by very specific features regarding its setting, its object of research, its method of investigation, its concept of language and of language learning.

Setting

In addition to the biological and psychological fcundations of SLA, FLL in classrooms is affected by a multiplicity of variables that affect the propensity of learners to acquire a foreign language and the rate of this acquisition. Language is "internalized" (Snow, 1987) on a grid of interpersonal transactions that are different from the social transactions in which L1 was acquired and in which foreign languages are acquired in natural settings. In a school setting, FLL is seriously affected by such factors as error correction, teaching methods, favored versus disfavored communication patterns between teacher and students and between students, turn-allocation across genders, statuses, roles, encouraged

versus discouraged kinds of voice, allowed versus disallowed types of creativity and originality (Are we encouraging true creativity or mere syntactic productivity?), previous FLL experience of learners (Are we dealing with L2 or L3 learners? with interactional patterns established by previous teachers?); it is also affected by the social background of learners and their degree of literacy and schooling.

Object of Research

The question posed by FLL is not as in FL education, "How can we better help learners learn?" but "How can we better understand the conditions of FL learning and teaching in classrooms so that we can change and improve these conditions?" Thus FLL is oriented toward the learner, but the whole learner, in his or her biological, neurological, psychological, social, affective and personal make-up. FLL takes an integrative view of the learner, drawing on a variety of related fields: psycho- and sociolinguistics, semantics, pragmatics, information-processing theory, cultural anthropology and ethnography, literacy studies and the teaching of English as a first language, and even foreign language policy. Its goal is not to control or predict the acquisition of the forms of the language, but to shed light on those classroom conditions that might further or hinder the learners' appropriation of a foreign language.

Methods of Investigation

FLL cannot be content to describe the phenomena observed and submit them to quantitative analysis, as has been done in most current SLA. As Michael Long pointed out in 1980, SLA has to interpret the empirical data collected in the light of existing or emerging theories about human behavior, learning, and language learning, using also methods taken from the social sciences: interviews, questionnaires, introspective accounts, diaries, loud thinking protocols. It has to understand both the behavior of classroom learners and what informs that behavior. Descriptive anthropological studies, such as interactional analysis, can inform experimental work. Long notes, that "knowledge derived from [interactional analysis] would show not simply what the organization of interaction in a classroom is, but how it is achieved" (p. 32). The fact that, as with all ethnographic research, the method can create the phenomena it purports to discover, does not, in my view, speak against using such an approach, if it does not replace, but supplements more quantitative SLA methods of research that allow for greater generalization. FLL itself could profit from adopting an action-oriented approach, which searched for a convergence between researcher's and participant's perspectives, thus making the participants--the teachers and the learners--the very agents of the social change needed to effect language learning in classrooms.

Concept of Language

Unlike FL education that is anxious to divide language into a series of separate skills, FLL research must consider

language in its total expressive and communicative thrust and deal with the global exploration of the development of communicative competence through the various modalities of speech. It must view the categorization into separate skills as detracting from the global concern with communication, as if we were using blinkers instead of telescopes to understand the complex phenomena involved. In addition, FLL must consider language to be quintessentially indeterminate and culturally relative and thus view communication, especially communication between interlocutors of two different cultures, as the negotiation of meanings intended and interpreted within an interactional context. To quote Martin Buber: "Meaning is not in us and in things, but between us and things, it can happen" (cited in Cook, 1985:7).

Concept of Learning

Learning, for FLL, is not only a mental process as it is for SLA, it is a social construct constrained by the conventions of schooling. In classrooms, language learning is a socially mediated process that originates and is ultimately fulfilled, not in the learner's Language Acquisition Device (Chomsky, 1957: 30-37), but via the support system of the learning environment or Language Acquisition Support System (Bruner, 1985). "There is no way," says Bruner, "in which a human being could possibly master another world without the aid of others, for, in fact, that world is others" (1985:32). If learning another language is mediated by the social environment of the classroom and if in addition this social environment is supposed to lead to a reorganization of sociocultural consciousness through the acquisition of foreign cultural meanings (Vygotsky, 1962; Frawley and Lantolf, 1985; Wertsch, 1985), then we need much more research into the social context of classroom FLL. Furthermore, classroom learning is, as we know, constrained by institutional parameters: It is related to the ability of learners to display items of academically defined, and thus socially acceptable, knowledge, to match this knowledge with pre-established norms, to equate it with numbers of chapters in a textbook or items on a syllabus. In the classroom, difficulties in language acquisition are not due to linguistic complexity alone, but to a host of external factors such as lack of experiential background, lapses in memory, high affective defenses, and procedural deficits, i.e., the inability to navigate around the established norms of classroom discourse (Allwright, 1980). "The competence that is sufficient to produce sentences likely to be understood may be totally insufficient to produce sentences likely to be listened to...Social acceptability cannot be reduced to grammaticality alone" (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 42).

Some ten years ago Tarone, Swain and Fathman (1976) listed seven limitations to the classroom applications of SLA research. Among them were: lack of data on cognitive processes and learning strategies, limited information about the role of social and environmental variables, undeveloped methodology for data collection. Today, I feel, with Lightbown (1985), that FLL has a specific classroom agenda that is not attended to by

current SLA. Lightbown remarked that SLA in its current state can contribute immensely to teacher education, but not to teacher training. I would like to suggest that we would need less teacher training if we had a more interdisciplinary, comprehensive teacher education. Our capacity for teaching teachers how to teach is and will remain as limited as our ability to teach learners how to learn. What we can do, however, is make them understand why they do what they do and the consequences of what they do. For that, FLL research still needs to continue exploring such questions as:

* How do learners acquire lexical meanings, develop concepts from the foreign lexical and grammatical structures they learn, pass from one-to-one equivalence to multifunctionality within the L2 system of semantic relations?
* What is the relationship between literacy skills, especially decontextualization skills, and the ability to manipulate symbols in a variety of cultural and social contexts?
* What is the impact of classroom discourse (teacher/students, students/students interaction) on the acquisition of L2 discourse patterns and on the setting of different sociolinguistic parameters of language in use? Might the meaning of language learning in classrooms reside in the institutional ritual itself (Bourdieu, 1982)?
* What is the impact of the acquisition of other modalities, such as writing and reading, on the acquisition of oral communicative competence? In particular, what impact does the literate environment of the classroom have on the acquisition of oral speech forms?
* What are the differences in learning strategies at different levels of proficiency?
* What is the impact of culturally determined learning styles on the acquisition of foreign cultural forms of discourse? In particular, what is the nature of textbook-mediated language acquisition? For example, how do textbooks help students make links between different aspects of knowledge, pass from one cultural framework to another, construct meanings, etc.?
* Language teachers need to know what the difference is between teaching/learning a language and teacher/learning any other subject in school--from math to driver's education.
* Finally, what are the political, economic, ideological, societal forces that compel teachers to teach the way they do IRRESPECTIVE of insights gained through SLA-FLL research?

Such a research agenda is hardly touched upon by current research in SLA and has been neglected by FL education. This in part explains why FL teachers feel disenfranchised by current language learning research. I would like to advocate broadening the agenda of SLA to include more systematically the social and societal dimensions of language learning in classrooms. We do not need yet another discipline which teachers would look up to for definitive answers; what we do need is the participation of teachers, learners, and researchers in the joint attempt to formulate the questions that are critical to FLL in classrooms.

These questions should be conceptualized at the necessary level of abstraction, so that rather than promoting piecemeal methods that work we can start searching for answers in an integrated manner. For example, the questions should not be: "How should I teach dialogues?" but rather: "What do I want my students to know, how will I know that they know it, and what conditions can I help create in the classroom that will facilitate both the acquisition and the display of that knowledge? And, if the educational setting does not allow me to create those conditions, how can I change the educational setting?"

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IDEAL 3, 1988

IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION/FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING, NOTHING IS MORE PRACTICAL THAN A GOOD THEORY

Sandra J. Savignon

The relationship of SLA and FLL to be explored in this paper is that of how theory impacts upon teaching. While some would argue that the classroom context is so different from the naturalistic or L2 environment as to render SLA research suspiciously relevant, I suggest that classroom teaching has already benefitted by new conceptualizations of acquisition (e.g.what are learner strategies? what is the nature of learner language?). In order to account for many foreign language professionals' rejection of SLA research and theorizing, I first examine how and why many professionals are impatient with theory and what the results of this impatience are. Next, I discuss the development of theory building in second/foreign language learning and what the relationship of the classroom can and might be to developing a theory of SLA. I will conclude by remarking on why teachers need theory and how theory and research should be viewed within the field of foreign language education.

INRODUCTION

In addressing the relationship between the fields of second language acquisition (SLA) and foreign language learning (FLL), three fundamental questions come to mind from the foreign language learning perspective:

(1) How does the FL profession benefit from SLA research?

(2) What impact can/does FLL research have on SL perspectives?

(3) Is FL classroom learning similar to or different from non-classroom learning?

Of course, the FL profession benefits from SLA research. Discussions of classroom teaching increasingly include reference to data on learner strategies and the nature of learner language. And error analysis has replaced constrastive analysis as the perspective from which to make judgments regarding learner difficulties. Teachers today look to research, both inside and outside the classroom, for insights regarding their role in the language learning process.

Conversely, classroom learning brings a needed dimension to SLA research. Whether in immersion, intensive, or more conventional core academic programs, whether in host (i.e. L2), bilingual, or L1 environments, classrooms constitute contexts of learning the world over. As such, they present a challenge to SLA researchers. A comprehensive theory of L2 learning is one that will account for individual and group differences in rate and outcome of learning, regardless of where it occurs. No easy task, to be sure, and one that has intrigued scholars and philosophers for centuries.

Granted, not everyone holds this view. Not all so-called "foreign" language teachers are interested in SLA research findings. Some see the classroom as so different from what have been termed "natural" learning environments that they are reluctant to consider findings related to the latter. Rather than seek ways to manage classroom learning environments to make them more conducive to L2 acquisition, they shut the door, so to speak, on acquisition data. In so doing, they often shun theory - be it linguistic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, psychometric - in favor of what they see as more "practical" matters. In place of theory or research data to support their claims as to what "works" in language teaching and evaluation, they appeal to logic and/or experience, that is to say, tradition. "Experientially based" is the term they sometimes use to suggest that a practice is valid.

To give an example, in his book, An integrated theory of language teaching, subtitled and its practical consequences, Hammerly(1985) has the following to say:

> One condition absolutely essential to natural language acquisition, being surrounded by, and constantly interacting with, native speakers, will never exist in second language classrooms. The impossibility of recreating natural language conditions in the classroom means that any claims to success by naturalistic methods should be viewed with great caution. (p. 15).

He goes on to advocate a surface structure to meaning, or "skill-getting to skill-using," sequence in language teaching, justifying his stance with "It seems only logical that a language form should come under some degree of control before it is used" (p. 25).

IMPATIENCE WITH THEORY

While SLA research has brought new interest in teaching materials and methodologies to many in the FL profession, still others, impatient with efforts to define constructs, to elaborate theories, and to build a research base, seem ready

to accept simple solutions to complex problems. The current debate within the American FL profession regarding the appropriacy of the Proficiency Guidelines being promoted by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) is a case in point.

At conferences held recently in Dallas (ACTFL/AAL co-sponsored workshop on the ACTFL /ETS Proficiency Guidelines, 24 November 1986) and in Bloomington, Indiana (Indiana University Symposium on the Evaluation of Foreign Language Proficiency, 4-6 March 1987), discussion focused on the need to define communicative competence and to demonstrate the construct validity of tests that purport to measure communicative language ability (Savignon 1985, Bachman and Savignon 1986).

The inadequacy of the Guidelines as a basis for methods and materials development has been signaled repeatedly, e.g. Savignon (1985), Bernhardt (1986), Lantolf and Frawley (1986), VanPatten (1986), Lange (1987), Lee (1987), and Lee & Musumeci (in press). Kramsch (1986) has summarized the inappropriateness of their neo-behavioristic perspective for American school programs:

> ...the oversimplified view on human interactions taken by the proficiency movement can impair and even prevent the attainment of true interactional competence within a cross-cultural framework and jeopordize our chances of contributing to international understanding. The suggested proficiency-oriented ACTFL/ETS goals differ from interactional goals on three accounts: (1) they focus on behavioral functions rather than on conceptual notional development; (2) they have a static rather than a dynamic view of content; (3) they emphasize accuracy to the detriment of discourse aptitude. (p. 367).

Yet the guidelines continue to be promoted by ACTFL as a universally valid measure of L2 ability (ACTFL 1986, emphasis added):

> The 1986 proficiency guidelines represent a hierarchy of global characterizations of integrated performance in speaking, listening, reading, and writing....each level subsumes all previous levels, moving from simple to complex in an "all-before-and-more" fashion.
>
> Because these guidelines identify stages of proficiency, as opposed to achievement, they are not intended to measure what an individual has achieved through specific classroom instruction but rather to allow assessment of what an individual can and cannot do, *regardless of where, when, or how the language has been learned or acquired.*

The accompanying claim that the guidelines are "not based on a particular linguistic theory or pedagogical method," is clearly misleading; and persons who have been involved in writing the guidelines are indeed prescribing methods and materials for "proficiency," e.g. Omaggio (1986).

Another example of an apparent impatience for theory and research within the FL profession can be seen in the current promotion of an equally neo-behavioristic claim: that early encouragement of communication without strict "error correction" - that is, consistent teacher highlighting of differences between learner language and a selected adult native norm - results in the formation of undesirable and permanent L2 "habits." Among the terms used to characterize the end result of this undocumented phenomenon are "fossilization,""pidginization," and a "terminal 2 profile." The term "undocumented" seems warranted because, in fact, there is no research evidence to support the purported link between teacher correction practice and formal features of learner language. Debate on this issue has become so heated, however, that the claims being made merit more careful examination.

Since no one would presumably wish on another the fate of a terminal anything, much less a terminal 2, and since classroom teachers are understandably concerned about the futures of their students, the spectre of "terminal 2" is indeed a frightening one. The reference most frequently given by those who wish to emphasize morpho-syntactic "accuracy"- that is, adult native sentence-level grammar - in the oral expression of beginning L2 learners is Higgs and Clifford (1982) . (For examples of such reference, see VanPatten, in press.) The following oft-cited observations by Higgs and Clifford appeared in a collection of papers commissioned by ACTFL and edited by Higgs (1982):

> The most recent buzz word to hypnotize the profession--and the one that will occupy our attention throughout this chapter--is communicative competence. ...[There is] the widespread impression that communicative competence is a term for communication in spite of language, rather than communication through language. As a result, the role of grammatical precision has been downplayed, particularly by some who carry the banner of communicative competence...
>
> With an eye to identifying terminal 2s and otherwise analyzing the constituent component of student's language abilities, the CIA Language School has developed the Performance Profile reporting form...The explanation for the terminal profiles appears to lie in what cognitive psychology calls proactive interference, in which the prior learning of task A interferes with the current learning of task B.

...

> If proactive interference underlies the learning disabilities of the terminal 1+ and 2+ students, then there should be identifiable features in the background of each that inhibit their continued language development. Fossilized or terminal language development has been found to be the most commonly shared feature in the language-learning experiences of these students....The terminal cases whose foreign-language background had included only an academic environment all came from language programs that either were taught by instructors who themselves had not attained grammatical mastery of the target language--and hence were unable to guide their students into correct usage--or by instructors who had chosen not to correct their students' mistakes for philosophical, methodological, or personal reasons. (pp. 57-68).

The authors' failure to offer rigorous experimental data in support of claims that have appeared in a major foreign language publication has not gone unnoticed. In a fall 1986 graduate seminar on the psycholinguistic foundations of L2 teaching, my students and I looked at this and other reports related to claims bearing on teacher error correction and the development of learner language ability. What follow are excerpts from assessments by two participants that together rather effectively summarize our conclusions:

> (1) Higgs and Clifford inextricably tangle the data, pseudo-data, and forensic language meant in support of their arguments about structure and grammar in FL teaching. I will try to sort the lot into main categories of anecdotal opinion and hearsay, citation and quotation, and formal data from review and experiments. ...Is an opinion a datum? Higgs and Clifford assert that their anecdotes and reflections, based on their "vast experience", constitute "experiential...data." Such data are in nature unquantifiable and unverifiable. As used here they are also fanciful.. From them are formed aggregate battalions such as "most of us," "the profession at large," "we and our student clients," ..."the typical university-level foreign language major," which are marshalled against battalions of "those who would carry the banner of communicative competence."
>
> (2) Higgs and Clifford seem to have come to the conclusion that the phenomenon of the "terminal 2" can be directly attributed to (i.e. blamed on) those who "carry the banner of communicative competence." The authors have concluded that the communicative approach has "an early emphasis on unstructured communicative activities--minimizing or excluding entirely, considerations of grammatical accuracy" (1982:73) and

> that its "undesirable side effect" is irreversible fossilization. Thus it is hypothesized that the problem, as they see it, can be remedied by early and intense emphasis on grammatical acuracy--the "accuracy first" approach.
>
> What are the data on which these findings are reported? Let's see...we have "the data," and "data reported elsewhere in the literature;" and we have lots of experience: "vast experience," practical experience," "experience in government language schools," and the authors' "encounters" and "more than passing acquaintances." Let us not forget the ever-impressive evidence cited by the authors: "evidence suggests," and "evidence abounds." In short, Higgs and Clifford base their arguments primarily on experiential data. Were I to submit an academic paper full of as many unsubstantiated claims, I would most certainly be laughed out of graduate school. Such a report would never be tolerated, let alone taken seriously enough to serve as a major source of support for a movement in second and foreign language teaching. The obvious question is why has this report been taken so seriously, given its numerous oversights, shortcomings, and sweeping generalizations?

Why indeed? And yet this report currently provides the major support for claims regarding methodological focus, including error correction policy, in so-called "proficiency-oriented" methods and materials (e.g. Omaggio 1986). The attendent disregard for scholarship does much to undermine efforts to encourage dispassionate consideration of SLA research data. Rather, it promotes a persistent parochialism within the foreign language teaching profession that leaves it prey to what Maley (1984), in an affectionate spoof of language teaching ideologies, has called "I got religion: Evangelism in second language teaching!" Methods are promoted, their virtues extolled, with a fervor that discourages critical examination, or even explanation. One is asked simply to believe.

RESPONSIBLE THEORY BUILDING

But such is by no means the whole story of the SLA/FLL issue. On a much more positive note, there are many widespread efforts today to modify and expand existing programs to make them more reflective of current L2 learning theory. To cite examples from only North America, there are established immersion programs in Canada and the U. S. (Stern 1984a; Anderson and Rhodes 1984). The State of New York recently has mandated L2 experience for all learners, not only the college bound. State curricula have been revised to

emphasize functional goals accessible to all learners, with appropriate changes in teaching methodology. Even in college and university FL departments, bastions of tradition when it comes to language teaching, reassessment of goals, diversification of offerings, and increased student participation in study abroad programs have led in some cases to more communicatively oriented teaching. (See, for example, Freed, 1984).

Within the American FL profession, hopes are presently high for the National Foreign Language Center, to be established on the campus of the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D.C. In his statement of goals for the proposed Center, Lambert (1987) includes the development of 1) prototypical teaching and learning systems that would integrate classroom and informal learning; 2) prepared and authentic source materials for both overseas and domestic instruction; and 3) intensive and non-intensive programs of study. The proposal includes plans for establishing a "number of experimental classrooms and other research settings to evaluate the effectiveness of the new procedures and materials." (pp. 4-5).

Throughout his proposal, Lambert stresses the need for cumulative empirical research in foreign language teaching methodologies:

> [There is a] surprisingly weak tradition of empiricism in the search for what works and what does not work. In place of solidly grounded practice, we have wildly exaggerated claims for one or another way to teach a foreign language. In place of theory linked firmly to applied study, we have staunchly asserted opinions on how students learn. In place of carefully formulated relationships among practice, theory, research, and curriculum and materials development, we have teachers, theorists, researchers, and pedagogues each going their separate way. (p. 2).

Researchers, for their part, are looking increasingly at the classroom as a language learning environment; and responsible methodologists are careful not to make sweeping claims based on limited data. Thanks to the longitudinal data that has been collected in Canadian immersion programs, we now have a better understanding of the nature of learner classroom L2 interaction in that particular setting and of the communicative ability that develops. This interaction is seen in the broad context of communicative competence, in terms not only of sentence-level morpho-syntactic features, i.e. grammatical competence, but in terms of sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic competence (Lapkin and Swain 1984; Stern 1984b). Through the work of Breen and Candlin (1980), Long (1980), Felix (1981), Krashen (1982), Lightbown (1986), Beretta (1987), and others, we are gaining a better understanding of what goes on in immersion and other classroom learning environments and how they can be modified in the

interest of promoting SLA. A new collection of research papers devoted exclusively to classroom FL learning (VanPatten, Dvorak, and Lee 1987), the first such volume published in the U.S., to my knowledge, marks perhaps best of all the coming of age of FL classroom learning as a worthy research focus.

Some of the earliest classroom FL research was conducted here on the University of Illinois campus (Savignon 1971). The now well-known study of adult acquisition of French as a second language focused on the distinction between grammatical competence and a much broader communicative competence, assessing the value for adult learners of an opportunity to use French for communication from the very beginning of their study. The results have been widely cited and have become part of an ever-widening research effort directed at defining and promoting the development of communicative competence. (See, for examples, Savignon 1983, Savignon & Berns 1984, Savignon & Berns 1987.)

One of the first references to this research data appeared in a paper by a widely respected FL methodologist, Wilga Rivers (1972), who at the time was herself at the University of Illinois. The gist of her remarks was consonant with experimental findings, namely that learners who are not encouraged to go beyond repetition of memorized phrases, to take communicative risks, may never develop the negotiation skills necessary for L2 competence.

At the time, this appeared a startling revision of prevailing language learning theory, which cautioned against early learner self-expression. The fact, however, that Rivers found support for her revised views in classroom research data provided an example that other responsible methodologists would follow: Recommendations for improving classroom learning are best based, not on extrapolations from linguistic or psychological theory, but on systematic observation of classroom learners. The significance of this example for the FL profession becomes clear when we recall that just a few years earlier we were giving almost unanimous support to the promotion of a language teaching method with no basis whatsoever in observed language learner behavior. Nelson Brooks (1966) himself has acknowledged that acceptence of audiolingual theory required by and large "an act of faith; research to prove the validity of its basic principles is scanty." (p. 359).

In the intervening years a new research perspective has developed. To meet its demands, a new generation of FL researchers and methodologists has pursued advanced study that includes not only "foreign" language and culture, but the linguistic, social, and psychometric concepts related to language and language learning. They do so often with great difficulty. To understand the effort this involves, one has only to compare the master-level programs of graduate students in ESL with those in FL programs . While the former emphasize theory and research, courses in psycholinguistics,

psychometrics and SLA must compete in the latter with required advanced-level courses in literature, and civilization. Moreover, the multidisciplinary nature of these programs, while intellectually challenging, often places upon the degree candidates the additional burden of program coordination.

Support for research-oriented programs in FL learning/teaching is increasing, however. Our University of Illinois multidisciplinary SLATE (Second Language Acquisition and Teacher Education) doctoral program, for example, has brought together teachers, methodologists, and researchers from departments of Spanish, Italian and Portuguese, French, English as an International Language, linguistics, psychology, and the College of Education. Graduates of this and similar programs now occupy positions of responsibility for FL and ESL program coordination at major research institutions (Teschner 1987).

Opportunities for publishing research findings are also increasing. In addition to the major journals of applied linguistics, several language-specific journals now include discussions of SLA theory and research findings, e.g. Unterrichtspraxis and Hispania. Most important, perhaps, FL departments around the country advertise openings for methodologists with a research interest in SLA. Conferences such as the one held recently at the University of Illinois (SLA-FLL:On the Relationship between Second Language Acquisition and Foreign Language Learning, 3-4 April 1987), moreover, are further evidence of the support within the FL profession for SLA research. The support is welcome, for the research agenda is challenging.

NOTHING IS MORE PRACTICAL THAN A GOOD THEORY

While the field of SLA research is expanding, classroom learning has not been a significant focus of this research. To illustrate, Chaudron (1986) reports that of all the articles published in two major applied linguistics journals during a seven year period, fewer than 7% involved either qualitative or quantitative measures of classroom learning. A major barrier in such research, he points out, is the lack of well-defined classroom processes to serve as variables. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches are needed to 1)identify and describe classroom processes; 2) relate these processes to learning outcomes; 3) discover the nature of the relationships that are revealed.

Failure to adequately identify and describe classroom teaching methods was a major weakness of the methods comparison studies conducted in the 1960s, e.g. the Colorado Project (Scherer and Wertheimer 1964), and the Pennsylvania Project (Smith 1970). The blurring of distinctions in classroom

practice has been cited as a contributing cause in the outcome of "no significant difference" between audiolingual and cognitive code methods.

More recently, analysis of classroom processes has taken two related and complementary perspectives. The first of these is that of social patterns of participation, or interactional analysis, following Flanders (1970), and Cazden, John, and Hymes (1972). The second perspective is that of discourse analysis, teacher talk, the nature of linguistic input, e.g. Allwright (1980), Gaies (1977), Wells (1981), Guthrie (1984). But for each of these perspectives, the development and validation of adequate descriptive models of classroom processes are far from complete.

Another major barrier to discovering relationships between classroom processes and learning outcomes is the lack of agreement on what constitutes learning "success." The large-scale Pennsylvania Project (Smith 1970) included no measures of communicative competence. In some of the early Gardner and Lambert (1972) studies of attitudinal variables in classroom language learning, final grades in French literature courses served as achievement criteria. More recently, Hammerly (1985) has termed the Canadian French immersion programs "a linguistic failure," citing nonnative morpho-syntactic features of learner language. Stern (1984b), on the other hand, looking at the academic achievement cum functional L2 competence of immersion students, has called the program "highly successful and Krashen (1984) has termed it "[perhaps] the most successful programme ever recorded in the language teaching literature." (p. 61). To look at yet another indication of success, community support for immersion has shown impressive growth. About 165,000 Canadian students are currently enrolled in French immersion alternatives, and the number is increasing by about 20% a year (Canadian Parents for French 1986). That the majority of these children are no longer the high achievers once typical of such programs reflects their parents' view that immersion is a viable educational alternative for *all* learners, not just the academically talented (Wiss 1987).

In his evaluation of the activity- or task-oriented Bangalore Communicational Teaching Project (CTP) in South India, Beretta (1987) summarizes the quandry he faced in assessing learning outcomes:

> A search through the literature reveals that basically three procedures are used by evaluators in a bid to make their instruments program-fair: (1) a standardized text [sic] (2) a specific test for each program and (3) a test of common-unique elements. The appeal to standardized tests is based on their supposed neutrality, or their independence of either program. Their principal shortcoming lies in their considerable potential for insensitivity. Standardized tests are likely to be unresponsive to

features of either program, and consequently to contribute to an outcome of no difference. "No difference" on a standardized test may quite simply mean that distinct program characteristics have been obscured. On the other hand, specific tests for each program reflect their particular contents and objectives, but preclude direct comparison. The alternative is to identify common areas of content or common objectives, or both, in competing programs and to test these elements proportionately with elements that are unique to each program. Difficulties arise here when there is little apparent commonality.

.....

All pupils taking part in the evaluation [of communicational and structural methods] were at fairly elementary stages of language study. Pupils taught by the structural method are expected to achieve mastery of a limited set of structures prescribed by the syllabus for each year. Students in communicational programs are not expected to achieve mastery level until, presumably, nature has taken its course, a process that must extend beyond the elementary level. A conventional grammar test measures attainment or nonattainment of mastery. That is to say, it measures a prescribed quota of structures at the level of a fully formed competence. The CTP makes no claim of uniformity concerning which structures will be assimilated or what stage of development learners will have attained at each level. Therefore, at an elementary level, to compare both groups on a conventional grammar test would be perverse. It would mean counting the CTP chickens before they have hatched.

On the other hand, if the evaluation were taking place with advanced level students, then the notion of mastery would be applicable to both groups, because by that stage payoff in such terms could be plausibly demanded. Otherwise "incubation" would have to be dismissed as a luxury schools cannot afford. (pp. 93-94).

Learning success must be viewed in a broad framework that takes into account the nature of communicative competence. Much has been written about the importance of sociolinguistic perspective in developing L2 teaching methods and materials. Interest in communicative competence and in communicative language teaching as a means to that goal has been strengthened by the understanding of language and language behavior that comes from sociolinguistic research, research with which we associate the terms *varieties, use, norms, appropriacy*. Judging from current methods and materials, however, the message has yet to reach the wider U.S. FL profession. Communication is talked about, but most often as something learners "practice" after grammatical structures have been

presented and drilled.

In his 1984 book, A Place Called School, Goodlad (1984) offers a broader perspective on what is going on in American FL classrooms:

> Tests at both [junior and senior high school] levels stressed recall of specific information--for example, memorized grammatical rules in the junior highs and word and phrase recognition in both groups of schools. At the senior high level, there was considerable stress on technical mastery as demonstrated in short-answer tests and in taking dictation in the foreign language or translating from one language to another. Tests rarely called for writing original paragraphs or short essays. (p. 27).

Berns (1987) has eloquently summarized the relevance of sociolinguistic insight for language teaching, echoing many of the concerns highlighted by Kramsch (cited above):

> [We need] to promote teaching that is communication oriented in practice well grounded in theory. A sound basis for language teaching needs to be developed, troublesome shortcomings in existing frameworks for communicative language teaching need to be dealt with, and language teaching in general needs to reflect the realities of language use. In short, language teaching needs the sociolinguist.

CONCLUSION

To return to the questions posed at the outset of this paper, yes, the FL profession can and has benefitted from SLA research. Much evidence attests to the awakened interest of FL teachers/researchers in SLA research. Many graduate teaching assistants in large-scale university FL programs today seek teacher *education*, not training. They want to know the underlying theory behind the materials and methods they are being asked to use. And they want to know how that theory fits into a more general theory of SLA.

SLA research, on the other hand, cannot ignore the classroom learning context. Theories of SLA developed without serious reference to data from classroom settings provide inadequate explanation of the language acquisition process. Neglect of this context, characterized as it is by limited L2 exposure and interaction primarily with other nonnative L2 speakers, would be detrimental to further theory development. Yes, classroom contexts *are* different from other learning environments; and they constitute the most important, if not the sole L2 access for countless learners. *If* the goal of classroom learning is, in fact, some measure of communicative competence, then good theory building is the route to good

teaching practice.

There will remain those who disparage research. Frustrated by our inability to date to offer more than a general perspective on the language acquisition process, they call for practical solutions to immediate instructional and curricular problems. Tentative responses to immediate needs are fine, but they should not be viewed as solutions in and of themselves. Respect for a discipline must be earned through careful research, reporting of findings, and reasoned discussion of the implications. Above all, in the absence of compelling evidence, the temptation to make recommendations for classroom teaching must be resisted. When recommendations appear warranted, they should be stated dispassionately, and any reservations clearly noted. Such is and always has been the rule of scientific inquiry. Circuitous though the route may be, in the end, nothing is more practical than a good theory.

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THEORY AND RESEARCH IN SLA AND FLL:

ON PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS

Bill VanPatten

Foreign language specialists in the U.S. have sometimes questioned the relevance of second language research while at the same time the foreign language classroom and the foreign language learner have tended to be ignored in research. This situation is particularly important for those interested in building a theory of non-primary language acquisition. In this paper, I examine what can be viewed as a schism between SLA and FLL in the U.S. as well as the producer-consumer relationship which currently exists. I will argue that the assumptions which underly this relationship are faulty and that we need to look toward a new relationship in which FL professionals contribute more actively to theory building in non-primary language acquisition.

INTRODUCTION

In his 1985 book, Understanding Second Language Acquisition, Rod Ellis states, "*Second* language acquisition is not meant to contrast with *foreign* language acquisition. SLA is used as a general term...." He then proceeds to tell us that, "It is, however, an open question whether the way in which acquisition proceeds in these different situations is the same or different" (p. 5). I find this citation somewhat ambivalent and believe it reflects a schizophrenic nature which is not particular to Ellis but to many L2 professionals. On the one hand, we would like to use one term to cover all language acquisition situations. Yet, at the same time, we feel the need to cautiously qualify our term because we have not provided adequate evidence that one term can really be used for all acquisitional environments. What, then, is the relationship between second language acquisition (SLA) and foreign language learning (FLL)?

The relationship between SLA and FLL which I would like to explore in this paper is one involving theory building, that is, a theory about the processes underlying acquisition which in turn relies on empirical research for support.[1] In the theoretical domain we encounter concepts such as input, interaction, the role of universal grammar and so-called "parameter setting," language transfer (identification and causes of), fossilization, socio-affective background, and others. The central questions which underly theory construction in all language acquisition situations are, How and why do people acquire languages?, Which conditions are necessary to language acquisition and which, in contrast, are beneficial?, How can we account for different outcomes? and

What are the constraints upon language acquisition at different stages of development and where do these constraints come from?

Currently, the relationship between SLA and FLL is a unidirectional one in which theory and hypotheses flow from SLA to FLL. This can be schematized as in Figure 1.

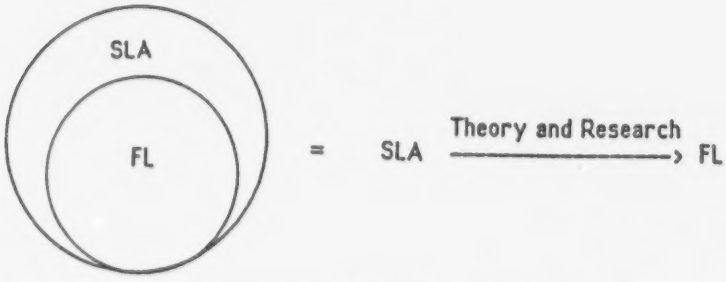

Figure 1
The Producer-Consumer Relationship

In this relationship, FLL is subsumed under SLA and is thought to be some special type of language acquisition context. (Quite unclear in this scheme of things is the relationship between FL, EFL, ESL, untutored SLA, and the formation of pidgins.) Thus, since FLL is a 'subset' of SLA, then whatever is true for SLA must also be true for FLL.

This schematic representation is reminiscent of earlier accounts of the relationship between linguistics and applied linguistics where those in applied linguistics were considered to be consumers of theory and research and were concerned only with practical applications.[2] Thus, those in FL teaching get knowledge from SLA research and theory building and then seek ways in which to manipulate the classroom environment to "improve" instruction.

There are at least three assumptions which underly this relationship:

(1) that SLA has answers to questions about language acquisition;

(2) that SLA has a truly cross-linguistic perspective;

(3) that acquisition is not a research domain of the FL profession.

What I will argue in this paper is that the relationship between SLA and FLL which has dominated the field is an artificial one which rests upon debatable (if not incorrect) assumptions. I will then outline what I perceive should be the

relationship between SLA and FLL and then suggest that only in the FL context can SLA theory find the answers to some rather important questions in theory.

SLA: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

To begin, it is unquestionable that SLA does not have answers to the fundamental questions of non-primary language acquisition. How and why do people acquire languages? is a question which is still unanswered and will probably go unanswered for some time.[3] As is typical of any young field of research, SLA has rightfully spent some 18 years generating question after question, posing more than it has been answering, and thus setting up a research agenda. If we pick up any empirically based research paper, if it is written true to style, it ends with a conclusions/summary section in which the limitations of the research as well as areas in need of future investigation are outlined. What SLA has accomplished in the last decade and a half is to turn our attention away from simplistic accounts of habit formation and L1 transfer and to isolate some of the factors which influence non-primary language acquisition, i.e. anything other than L1 acquisition, thus leading us to ask better questions than could have been asked in previous years.

In order to demonstrate how questions in this field have multiplied over the last decade and half, let us take one factor thought to be essential to language acquisition: communicatively centered input. Since our attention was first focused on input in the mid to late seventies[4] the following questions (not presented in any particular order) have been asked:

(1) Is meaningful input necessary? If so

(2) does it have to be simplified?

(3) does input have to be comprehensible?

(4) does it have to contain i + 1?

(5) is there a silent period?

(6) what out of input becomes intake?

(7) does input have to be negotiated?

(8) does input differ among age groups?

(9) does input differ among cultures?

(10) is meaningful input enough?

(11) and generally, what are the limits of input?

While we could list more questions, I would like to end this demonstration with a citation. In 1985, Susan Gass and Carolyn Madden published a volume titled Input in Second Language Acquisition. In that volume are 25 papers that treat input from either an empirical or a theoretical perspective. The volume concludes with a summary by Larsen-Freeman in which, on the last page, she lists 10 areas (at least) in need of further research. Clearly, we do not have the answers to our questions about communicatively centered input except to say that it is an essential ingredient for language acquisition.

Now, what happens when this particular aspect of SLA is 'applied' to the FL context? The result is a flurry of claims about what should happen in the classroom, e.g. we get 'input methods'. This is not to say that the particular claim that meaningful input should be provided in the classroom is unwarranted. I merely wish to point out that any claim beyond that is quite probably premature. We have yet to really understand how interaction with input results in a language system. That is, we still have not sufficiently filled the gaps in our information about the following chain of events and relationships:

input---> intake---> acquisition---> language use[5]

What I find worthy of concern from this example is that the FL community does not respond with a research agenda about input in the classroom, but responds instead with a consumer's eye focused upon instruction. I do not mean to underestimate nor denigrate the "applicational" aspect of SLA research and theory. Indeed, as I have argued elsewhere (VanPatten 1986a and b, 1987a), there are implications for classroom practice derived from SLA research and theory. But these implications are broad in scope and deal more with how teachers should view learners and language rather than how teachers should teach on a day to day basis.

ON THE CROSS-LINGUISTIC NATURE OF SLA RESEARCH

The second assumption underlying SLA theory and research is that it has been truly cross-linguistic. This, like the first assumption, is demonstrably false. If one examines the publications of U.S. based journals that treat non-primary language acquisition, one is struck by the overwhelming proponderence of papers that use learners of English for their data base. If the papers are theoretical rather than research oriented, they use the English language as their source of linguistic data. In the citation made earlier, the volume on input, out of the 25 papers included, only 3 involve looking at learners of languages other than English. With the exception of the cross-linguistic series published by Newbury House and some occasional papers in Studies in Second Language Acquisition, SLA in this country is a theory/research agenda of the acquisition of English.

This observation begs the question, is there any problem with this? I believe that there is, from both a theoretical perspective and a practical perspective. As an example, let us take the claim made in the seventies that the acquisition of morphemic structure was determined by frequency of occurrence in input (Larsen-Freeman 1976). This looks to be the case in a language like English which has five verb inflections and one noun inflection. But what if the data base comes from a typologically different language such as Spanish where morphology plays an important role in marking semantic features of language which in English are marked lexically or by word order? Spanish has some 46 verb inflections, five noun inflections, four forms for the definite article, two copulas, and from 2 to 5 forms of a pronoun for a given person number (dependent upon case and/or syntactic function). In my research on the acquisition of *ser* and *estar* (VanPatten 1985 and 1987b), for example, I have argued that Larsen-Freeman's position on frequency is incorrect with reference to the acquisition of Spanish and that, while certainly important, frequency of occurrence is not the primary factor in morpheme acquisition but instead exists in a hierarchical relationship to other factors. When this perspective is then applied to English morpheme development, we find an alternative explanation which accounts for the same data. Clearly, a cross-linguistic perspective on morpheme acquisition was needed from the beginning.[6]

The FL community, then, assuming that SLA is either cross-linguistic or has justifiable cross-linguistic projections, may accept conclusions based on the data from ESL learners which are not readily applicable to FL teaching or are not adequately explanatory for FLL.

ACQUISITION RESEARCH IN FLL

The third assumption, that acquisition is not a research domain of the FL profession, derives, I believe, from the history of the two disciplines. SLA is firmly established in two disciplines of inquiry: linguistics and psycholinguistics. It has also been linked historically to two related research domains: child language acquisition and pidgins and creoles.

The FL community also has linguistics as its earliest roots (e.g. the backgrounds of Robert Lado, Robert Stockwell, Donald Bowen, William Bull and others). However, these roots were abandoned and replaced with something else: educational research. Sometime in the sixties, schools of education blossomed and soon thereafter special degree programs in foreign language education were born. What then happened is that FL professionals turned their attention away from both what language is and how languages are learned, and focused their attention instead on educational psychology and the manipulation of instruction. While SLA has persevered in a quest for the 'how' and the 'what' of language acquisition, most professionals in FL have either assumed what these were or ignored them. Thus, the processes underlying acquisition

itself (both psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic) have never really become a focus of inquiry in FL.[7]

I would hasten to add here that I am not suggesting that educational issues are unworthy of attention or that the manipulation of instructional variables is unimportant. Nor do I wish to suggest that the work of those of us who have graduated from schools of education or who are conducting research in educational issues does not merit attention. I merely wish to point out that, for the most part, the FL profession has not been investigating the range of questions about language and language acquisition that have been asked in SLA.[8] The outcome has been a schism between two fields which has resulted in a biased approach to looking at language learning, that is, the overemphasis on English in the case of SLA, and, in the case of FL, an antiquated notion of what language and language acquisition are, most clearly visible in the continued structural-grammatical syllabi of textbooks and courses.[9]

TOWARD A NEW RELATIONSHIP

What I would like to suggest here is that the FL profession needs to put the L of learning back onto FL so that we have both FLL and FL teaching existing side by side. The profession needs to cease being only a consumer of SLA research and theory and start becoming an active contributor. Indeed, it can be argued, that there are some questions asked in SLA that are best answered or even only answerable by researching foreign language learners and not second language learners.

For instance, let us take an empirically testable question such as the following: Is meaningful input itself sufficient to make alterations in a learner's linguistic system over time? If we attempted to investigate this with a rigorous longitudinal study in an L2 context, we would immediately be struck by the confounding variables outside the classroom. What about input sources outside the classroom? How could we control for interaction outside the classroom? How could we control with whom a learner interacts? What about literacy? What about different L1 backgrounds? The list could go on. But, in a foreign language context, these extremely crucial variables are already controlled for us. We could, for example, set up a long term (e.g. two-three year) study where learners are tracked across several different kinds of curricula, one in which meaningful input is the be-all and end-all of the classroom, another in which input is mixed with explicit instruction, another where meaningful input is virtually absent and focus is on production from the earliest stages. In all three contexts, homework and outside exposure are matched to classroom environment. Since we are controlling here for what happens outside of the formal context, we are providing a much more exacting research design than could ever be achieved in an L2 context. It is important to note, however, that we are not testing methodology here, nor teaching variables, but those factors which SLA has already suggested are important in the

construction of any theory of non-primary language acquisition. In addition, by using the FL context we may more easily get at the problems posed by language typologies. I could envision the research just outlined involving English as a FL, Spanish as a FL, German as a FL, and Japanese as a FL. In this way we see typological differences such as whether the language is underlyingly S(ubject) initial or V(erb) initial, whether the language is morphologically rich or poor, whether the language is right or left branching, and whether the language has flexible or rigid word order. In addition, we would be including typological differences that go beyond the sentence level, i.e. discourse differences and communication differences based on the interface between culture and language.

While research of the kind just outlined may be hampered by practical concerns (e.g. funding), the point is that it is the FL context that can eventually serve as the testing ground for some of the hypotheses in SLA. What is clearly needed then is for the theorist-consumer relationship between SLA and FLL to be abandoned and for: (1) the FL profession to promote language acquisition research with research paradigms in developmental psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, discourse interaction and general communication; and (2) for SLA to seek out FL professionals as partners in both research and theory construction. My schematic representation, then, for this relationship would look something like that in Figure 2.

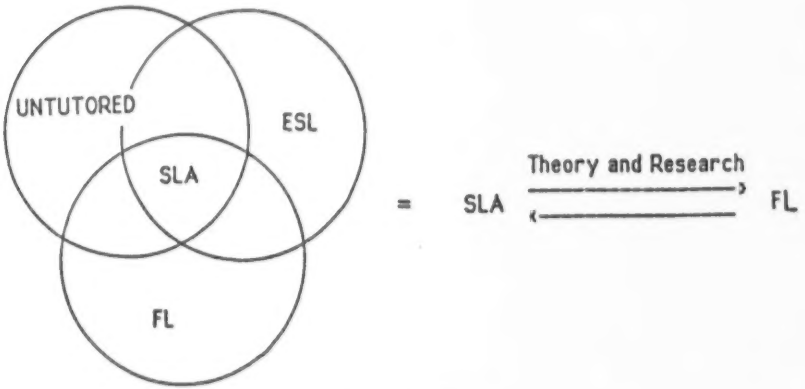

Figure 2
A New Relationship for SLA and FLL

From this scheme, it should be evident that FLL has aspects which are contextually different from other non-primary acquisition types, e.g. the contraints imposed on discourse by the setting. At the same time, FLL overlaps with untutored language acquisition in that there are persons who learn what are typically FLs in this country in an untutored setting somewhere else, e.g. German as an L2 in Germany, French as an

L2 in France. In other areas, FLL overlaps with ESL in the context of English as an FL in such countries as Japan and Colombia.. ESL and untutored language acquisition overlap in areas which are not pertinent to FL, e.g. the acquisition of English in the U.S. without the aid of formal instruction. But central to this entire scheme is that there is a learner who is capable of participating in any of the three contexts. It is what that learner does that is common to all contexts which forms the core of SLA theory and thus, in Figure 2, SLA is placed in the small area where all three contexts overlap . In a certain sense, we could even suggest that a theory of SLA must be a product of research in different contexts of non-primary language acquisition rather than a precursor.

What can we do to help build bridges? On the practical side, ESL and FL teachers need to seek ways in which to interact such that common aspects of non-primary language teaching can be delineated, e.g. instead of meeting independently, there might be joint meetings of various regional and national Fl organizations and ESL organizations.[10] We might encourage those currently pursuing teaching degrees in a language to also pursue a minor in the other discipline, e.g. FL majors with ESL minors.

On the empirical side, researchers need to cross fields and test hypotheses in other contexts, e.g. we could set up special panels and colloquia at the Second Language Research Forum, at the annual international TESOL meeting, or at the biennial gathering of the Association de Linguistique Appliqueé. In such contexts, both L2 and FL researchers could provide their perspectives and/or empirical research on various issues of SLA. And most importantly from my perspective as a professional in FL, the FL community needs to offer theory testing research to SLA. Perhaps research interest sections, modeled upon the TESOL interest sessions could become integral parts of the annual meetings of various FL organizations such as the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. Hopefully, if such joint ventures are pursued, Ellis' need for caution in terminology will be obviated and someday we might even arrive at a comprehensive theory of non-primary language acquisition.

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editorial staff of IDEAL for its comments on style and content. Responsiblity for the content is, of course, mine.

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NOTES

[1]There are, of course, other relationships to explore as suggested by the different persons invited to speak at the SLA-FLL conference. For example, see Savignon (this volume).

[2]For some discussion, see Corder (1973) and Wardhaugh and Brown (1976).

[3]In this discussion of non-primary language acquisition, I am ignoring the first language concepts of UG (Universal Grammar) and the idea that language development is a species specific phenomenon tied into the genetic makeup of humans.

[4]While Krashen is the name most associated with input, the beginnings of a concern for input can be traced back to Corder (1973), Wagner-Gough and Hatch (1975) and Hatch (1978).

[5]See, for example, the discussion in Chaudron (1985), Sharwood-Smith (1986), and VanPatten (in press).

[6]I do not mean to suggest that my account of frequency is the only possible alternative to Larsen-Freeman's. Instead I am simply demonstrating how a cross-linguistic perspective on general language phenomenon like morphology offers competing viewpoints on acquisition. See also VanPatten 1987a.

[7]This is perhaps a good point at which to show how strong this perception is of what FL professionals should be doing. Recently two colleagues, James F. Lee and Trisha Dvorak, and I published a volume titled Foreign Language Learning. While published in February 1987, the volume was begun in the Spring of 1985. Our intention was to bring learning into sharper focus in the FL community and to promote research on foreign language learning (hence FLL in the title). The result was a volume with eleven research papers. This volume was categorically rejected by every publisher who had anything to do with promoting foreign language professional books in this country and was finally published by Newbury House. The point of this anecdote is to demonstrate that in the mid 1980s, we had difficulty publishing a book focused on foreign language

learning in this country because, as one publisher told us, "there was no audience for it."

[8]Interestingly, one often hears FL professionals lamenting that researchers in SLA ignore educational concerns or, as is generally said, researchers ignore those 'in the trenches.'

[9]It should be pointed out here that these remarks were delivered in a forum dominated by Northamericans. I do not presume that structural-grammatical syllabi are the dominant syllabi in the rest of the world though they well may be.

[10]When I presented these remarks at the SLA-FLL conference in Urbana, I began with an on-the-spot survey in which I called for a show of hands from the 140 participants. How many people have taught both ESL and FL? How many are engaged in research at this moment? How many go to specific professional gatherings in the U.S.? The results of this straw poll confirmed my suspicions. Only a few people had been instructors of both ESL and FL, and while a handful of persons claimed to be going to the Second Language Research Forum or to the annual TESOL meeting, no ESL person claimed to be going to a major national foreign language meeting such as that hosted by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreing Languages. Finally, twice as many ESL persons indicated that they were engaged in current research.

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IDEAL 3, 1988

MODELS, PROCESSES, PRINCIPLES, AND STRATEGIES: SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN AND OUT OF THE CLASSROOM

Roger W. Andersen

This paper relates research on naturalistic second language acquisition (SLA) to the foreign language classroom context. It is argued that in order to attempt to relate natural SLA to classroom foreign language learning requires operating within a coherent and consistent theoretical framework. This paper develops a particular theoretical framework, the Cognitive- Interactionist Model, which consists of a model of interlanguage development, the Nativization Model, a set of psycholinguistic processes, and a group of principles which seem to underlie second language development (and, it is claimed, foreign language learning).

These principles are based on the Operating Principles framework developed by Dan Slobin for first language acquisition. Only principles for which there is considerable empirical evidence for second language acquisition are considered valid for SLA, however. The evidence for each principle is discussed, drawing on research on SLA of a number of different languages. Proposals are made for innovative research that can be conducted in the classroom foreign language context within the Cognitive-Interactionist Model to investigate further the relevance of this model to foreign language learning. The paper concludes with a brief discussion of the role of interaction and communication strategies in promoting second language development.

PUTTING ORDER IN OUR INQUIRY

This paper relates empirical research on primarily natural untutored second language acquisition to the foreign language classroom environment. The goal is to provide a new perspective on how foreign languages can be acquired from natural language input within the limited confines of a foreign language classroom. The model of second and foreign language acquisition presented here is intended to be especially relevant to the ***Authentic Language Plus Model***, being developed by the author, but it is phrased in more general terms that do not require adherence to any specific authentic language model. It does require, however, a model of instruction that allows students

to come into contact with authentic language as a major part of their language instruction.

To relate the two types of language acquisition, naturalistic second and tutored foreign language acquisition, requires, I believe, close attention to at least four basic distinctions:

a. Models of how a second language is "acquired" and used.

b. Explicit characterization of the psycholinguistic processes involved in the acquisition and use of a language.

c. Empirical verification of psycholinguistic principles that govern development of the language being learned.

d. Empirical verification of the strategies learners use to communicate with their non-proficient linguistic competence.

I am assuming that the same processes, principles, and strategies will be shared to a great extent across different settings, different types and ages of learners, and different circumstances for learning and using the second/foreign language. By working with a particular model and the processes, principles, and strategies that fit within that model, it should be easier to recognize the effect of setting-, learner-, and language-specific variables on the language acquisition process and the final outcome. I further believe that only by working within such a common framework can we carry out the type of new innovative research that will eventually allow us to intervene more successfully in the acquisition process to bring about faster, more efficient, and more successful learning of a foreign language as the result of such research.

Most of this paper will be devoted to outlining a particular model of second/foreign language acquisition and the processes, principles, and strategies that fit within that model. Since these terms could mean different things to different people, let me define as clearly as possible what I mean by each. I will draw on the American Heritage Dictionary for the first three definitions and a psycholinguistics textbook for the fourth.

1. MODEL (p. 843): "A tentative ideational structure used as a testing device..."

2. PROCESS (p. 1043): "1. A system of operations in the production of something. 2. A series of actions, changes, or functions that bring about an end or result."

3. PRINCIPLE (p. 1041): "4. A basic, or essential, quality or element determining intrinsic nature or characteristic behavior... 5. A rule or law concerning the functioning of natural phenomena or mechanical processes...

4. STRATEGY (from Clark & Clark 1977:567) "A method by which people go about solving problems."

The model I will follow is basically a psycholinguistic model with a socio- interactive component. In taking this approach, I am agreeing with Clark and Clark (1977:vii) that "one of the principles that gives the field [of psycholinguistics] coherence is that psycholinguistics is fundamentally the study of three mental processes -- the study of listening, speaking, and the acquisition of these skills ..." and that "another principle that gives the field coherence is that the primary use of language is for communication." Although processes, principles, and strategies eventually must all be elaborated and supported empirically to an equal degree, in this discussion I will focus most heavily on the cognitive operating principles that seem to govern interlanguage construction.

A COGNITIVE-INTERACTIONIST MODEL OF SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Any psycholinguistic model[1] of naturalistic (i.e., non-instructed) second language acquisition has to somehow capture minimally the following: (1) Learners do attempt to communicate (and often succeed) with a very minimal competence in the second language. (2) Through such attempts to communicate the learner comes to perceive linguistic devices used by native speakers (or more proficient nonnative speakers) that previously he had not perceived. (3) Somehow the learner incorporates these new perceptions into his interlanguage system, i.e., his developing internal representation of the language he is learning. (4) This internal representation is initially and even for a long time very different from what it must be for a near-native or native speaker. (5) Thus, when he incorporates a new linguistic device (a phonological contrast, a lexical class distinction, an inflection, an auxiliary or subject-verb inversion) into his interlanguage, it fits into the learner's evolving interlanguage system and does not bring with it the full meaning, function and distribution it had in the native speaker's linguistic system. (6) Over time, however, the learner gradually restructures his second language linguistic system in terms of increasingly finer congruence with the native target system, provided the conditions are right for such restructuring over time.

In earlier work (Andersen 1979b, 1980, 1983a, 1984a) I tried to capture this view of creation of an internally consistent interlanguage system through

verbal interaction with more proficient speakers of the second language in what I have called the Nativization[2] Model. In this model nativization refers to the composite of presumably universal processes and principles which guide an individual language learner in the creation of an internal representation of the language he is acquiring and subsequent assimilation of new input to that gradually evolving internal representation. In the original phrasing of the model (Andersen 1979b:109) I included reference to an opposing "force," denativization, which was characterized as "the gradual restructuring of the learner's somewhat unique and idiosyncratic internal representation of the language he is acquiring in terms of the input he processes during language acquisition." Nativization constituted development independent of the nature of the target language system and denativization as development towards that target system. Subsequent research has made it clear that nativization and denativization are not two separate processes or "forces," but simply represent different extremes in the result of the overall process of second language acquisition, which could be plotted along a continuum ranging from furthest from the target language system (the nativized end) to closest to the target language system (the denativized end).

This paper is an attempt to specify more fully the psycholinguistic processes, cognitive operating principles, and communicative strategies that fit within this overall conceptualization of the Nativization Model. I assume that the Nativization Model, being a psycholinguistic model of individual second language acquisition under a variety of different circumstances, applies equally well to a classroom environment. The classroom environment, however, must be one in which the learner has some reasonable access to and control over the input from which he is to acquire the second or foreign language as well as some means of carrying on meaningful communicative interaction at a level suitable for his linguistic competence at any one point in time, so that he can utilize these processes, principles, and strategies effectively to gain access to specific target language linguistic devices and gradually incorporate these devices into his interlanguage system.

PSYCHOLINGUISTIC PROCESSES

The basic task in language learning is to get the language that is outside the learner's head inside his head. In formal classroom learning, it is assumed that clear, orderly, explicit presentation of bits and pieces of the language in some logical sequence will accomplish this task. In naturalistic non-instructed SLA, it is assumed that the learner must somehow impose order on the language he is exposed to and make sense out of it, in order to 'get it inside his head.' In both settings the psycholinguistic processes involved are usually assumed and seldom made explicit. If we are to relate SLA research to the foreign language setting, these processes need to be made more explicit.

It is clear from such studies as Brown 1973 and Peters 1977, 1983, 1985 for first language acquisition and Hakuta 1974, 1976, Huang and Hatch 1978, and Wong-Fillmore 1976, 1979 for second language acquisition that both first and second language learners are fully capable of perceiving and extracting meaningful segments of language from the input directed to them. Such a capacity for perceiving, analyzing, storing and somehow organizing in memory meaningful bits and pieces of language without any formal instruction must be an important prerequisite for any language learning. Slobin 1985 incorporates Peters' (1985) principles for perceiving, storing and tagging such segments of speech into his revised group of forty Operating Principles for first language acquisition. These initial basic principles are the first eight Operating Principles of his group of principles. They are the first group because they are prerequisite to all the others. Four examples of these initial operating principles are (Slobin 1985:1251-2):

ATTENTION PRINCIPLES:

SOUNDS:Store any perceptually salient stretches of speech.

STRESS:Pay attention to stressed syllables in extracted speech units. Store such syllables separately and also in relation to the units with which they occur.

STORAGE PRINCIPLES:

FREQUENCY:Keep track of the frequency of occurrence of every unit and pattern that you store.

UNITS: Determine whether a newly extracted stretch of speech seems to be the same as or different from anything you have already stored. If it is different, store it separately; if it is the same, take note of this sameness by increasing its frequency count by one.

In addition to perceiving and storing such segments, the learner must impose some organization on them within his memory, so they can be retrieved rapidly and accurately and integrated into the stream of speech during production (as well as utilized during comprehension). Lenneberg (1967:89-120) has shown how the brain is capable of incredible coordination and planning of speech on all linguistic levels in order to access the information stored in memory and integrate it rapidly in linear order in speech production. Somehow when the learner perceives, tags, and stores segments of speech during natural interaction with the providers of input, these seg-

ments are stored in such a way that they can be accessed rapidly and thus readily available for integration into spontaneous speech production.

The psycholinguistic constraints on speech perception and production are well known (cf, for example, Clark and Clark 1977). Within a psycholinguistic framework, Clahsen (1984) has drawn on three language processing strategies to explain the order of acquisition of a number of word order and negative placement rules in German by noninstructed immigrant workers in West Germany. He concludes that the first interlanguage structures to emerge are those which conform to these strategies. The next structures to emerge in a subsequent stage violate one but conform to the other two strategies, followed by structures which violate two and finally all three strategies. He thus argues that delay in acquisition of certain word order permutations is a consequence of these processing constraints: it takes time for the learner to override these constraints and acquire the mechanism for doing so.

What then does this mean for the foreign language classroom setting? Pienemann (1985, 1987) has carried out studies in a classroom setting to test the hypothesis that instruction will have an effect on acquisition only if the learner has reached the stage where he is "ready" to incorporate the new rule or structure into his linguistic system. This study, which supports the hypothesis, is based on Clahsen's formulation of the three processing strategies and the German SLA project conducted by Clahsen, Meisel and Pienemann (see, e.g, Clahsen et al. 1983, Clahsen 1984, 1987).[3]

A related question is whether the input that is provided for learners in a classroom can be carefully controlled in order to conform to this series of constraints. By this I mean meaningful input supplied for communication, not the usual rules, examples, and paradigms for memorization and practice.[4] A worthwhile hypothesis to test is whether constructions that do not violate these processing strategies are easier to comprehend, imitate, and also produce spontaneously within a classroom context than similar constructions which differ only in terms of the number of strategies they violate. This is, of course, a proposal for research, not a prescription for teaching methodology.

Another more difficult hypothesis to test would be that the bits and pieces of input that are perceived, tagged and stored in memory must be accessed in the input through meaningful communicative interaction for the brain to be able to store these segments in such a way that they can later be accessed rapidly and integrated into a novel utterance at a different point in time. That is, the familiar lists, paradigms and rules of foreign language classrooms are not readily accessible for this purpose precisely because they are not the result of such communicative interaction. Such a hypothesis seems to underlie the emphasis on communicative language teaching during

the past decade as well as any teaching approach that attempts to provide an acquisition rich environment within the classroom (e.g., Krashen and Terrell 1983).

COGNITIVE OPERATING PRINCIPLES

I will now turn to the major area of this paper: the cognitive operating principles that govern the path the learner takes in developing an increasingly more native-like and more efficient and successful linguistic competence in a second language. During the past several years I have been influenced considerably by the first-language acquisition work of Dan Slobin in this area (Slobin 1973, 1977, 1982, 1985). I will proceed to discuss seven potential operating principles for second language acquisition which I believe are consistent with the psycholinguistic processing framework I have just touched on. Most of them can be related directly or indirectly to one or more of Slobin's operating principles. They are not, however, simply a translation of Slobin's principles into the domain of SLA. In fact, they are more macro-principles in that each one would correspond to a group of more succinct operating principles within Slobin's framework. In addition, two of these principles are mainly relevant to second language acquisition.

Just how many such principles are needed to begin to account for empirical evidence within the field of second language acquisition is a difficult question to answer. For native language acquisition, Slobin has increased his initial seven operating principles (Slobin 1973) to forty (Slobin 1985). The principles that I discuss here have evolved primarily out of my own research on the acquisition of Spanish and English as second languages, as well as my understanding of related research on other languages. I find they are a major improvement over the two principles I began with several years ago (the One-to- One Principle and the Transfer to Somewhere Principle) and contribute to a further elaboration of the Nativization Model.[5]

(1) The One-to-One Principle.

This principle states that:

> *"an interlanguage system should be constructed in such a way that an intended underlying meaning is expressed with one clear invariant surface form (or construction) (Andersen 1984a:79)".*

The motivation for such a principle is probably the processing constraints discussed earlier. In fact, the earliest constructions to emerge in German, following Clahsen's (1984) three processing strategies, conform to the One-to-One Principle. His subjects initially maintained a subject-verb-object

word order, even though native German requires verb-subject order in certain contexts, clause-final placement of nonfinite verb forms, after any object or adverbial, and final placement of finite verb forms in subordinate clauses.

Native French and Spanish require clitic objects to be placed preverbally, but in early stages of SLA of these languages learners maintain the canonical postverbal position, which conforms to the 1:1 principle, since full NPs and pronouns alike are placed in the same postverbal position (see Zobl 1980, Andersen 1983b). In placement of a negator, native English, French, German, and Swedish each has language-specific rules which are hard to acquire. For each of these languages learners initially choose the simplest solution, which conforms to the 1:1 principle: place the negator directly before[6] the entity to be negated (the verb or predicate, for propositional negation) (see Andersen 1984a:81-2 for further details).

Articles in German and Spanish (and many other languages) encode, in addition to specificity of the referent, gender, number, and, for German, case. Learners, however, initially disregard all but specificity as the relevant meaning to encode (Andersen 1984b, Gilbert & Orlovic 1983, Pfaff 1987; see also Huebner 1983, 1985). Personal pronouns similarly encode a number of features in native languages like English, German, and Spanish. In second-language Spanish, there is a strong tendency to disregard case marking and use the same form (usually a stressed form) for subject, direct & indirect object, and possessives (Andersen 1983b).

Finally, a number of first and second language acquisition studies (summarized in Andersen, 1986a,b) suggest that learners first use past- reference verbal morphology according to whether the event is punctual (i.e., one simple completed act of limited duration). In first and second language acquisition of English, past morphology (especially strong past) is first attached to punctual verbs (Antinucci & Miller 1976, Bloom et al 1980, see Andersen 1986a,b for discussion of SLA). In Spanish, there are two past forms: preterit and imperfect. The preterit is the first form to be used (Jacobsen 1986, Simões & Stoel-Gammon 1979, Andersen 1986a, 1986b). The preterit form is initially restricted to punctual events and, when the imperfect form begins to emerge, it is restricted to states. Both of these cases conform to the 1:1 principle.

What does a 1:1 principle mean for the foreign language classroom context of SLA? Perhaps a one-form-one-meaning relation is inevitable as a first entry into a language. If so, a major goal of foreign language research should be to discover what form-meaning relations learners initially perceive and incorporate into their interlanguage. The assumption is that an acquisition- directed language pedagogy should work within such natural tendencies. After discussion of the next principle, I will discuss further what type of research might be productive in this area.

(2) The Multifunctionality Principle.

Statement of the principle:

> *(a) Where there is clear evidence in the input that more than one form marks the meaning conveyed by only one form in the interlanguage, try to discover the distribution and additional meaning (if any) of the new form. (b) Where there is evidence in the input that an interlanguage form conveys only one of the meanings that the same form has in the input, try to discover the additional meanings of the form in the input.*

It might seem strange, after discussing a 1:1 principle, to suggest that there is pressure for a learner to move towards an interlanguage system where a given form is multifunctional. But such a principle seems inevitable. This is evident from at least two perspectives. First, all native languages appear to incorporate a considerable amount of multifunctionality into their linguistic systems. Second, when a learner moves away from a 1:1 representation of form to meaning it is usually in the direction of multifunctionality in existing forms (along with addition of new forms).

Why should a learner feel compelled to abandon an initial 1:1 principle? Slobin 1977 has discussed four metaphorical charges to language that any natural language must obey: 1 Be clear, 2 Be humanly processible in ongoing time, 3 Be quick and easy, and 4 Be expressive. The 1:1 principle conforms to the first two charges. The multifunctionality principle addresses the second two. The communicative and phatic functions of language require the user to be able to express a wide range of meanings, intentions, and perspectives ("Be expressive") and to do so as quickly as possible and in such a way that it is easy for the listener to interpret his or her intentions ("Be quick and easy"). These two charges require considerable multifunctionality of forms and constructions. Another way to put it is that by using fewer forms and constructions and letting each one perform a number of different functions, the speaker can get across a richer, more complex message and do it easier and faster.

How then does the learner move from a 1:1 principle towards multifunctionality? One way seems to be that once the learner has incorporated one form into his repertoire (for example, no for all uses of negation: no the dog, he no go), he can perceive alternate forms (e.g., not, don't) and differentiate the environment in which they occur (e.g. no for anaphoric negation, don't for preverbal negation and not for everything else). That is, having one of the forms in his interlanguage allows him to perceive the multiple forms for that one meaning. In cases where there is one form

with multiple meanings, it seems that, in some cases at least, the learner is able to extend the initially limited scope of a form to a wider range of lexical items to which it can be attached by analogy. For example, in natural nontutored SLA of Spanish, learners begin to use the past preterit verb form for purely punctual, nondurative events and the present form or, somewhat later, the imperfect form, for all other verbs. But once the learner has begun to use the past preterit verb form (e.g. cayó 'fell') for strictly punctual and nondurative events he can extend the form to a wider range of verbs that are both punctual and durative (corrió una milla 'he ran a mile'), and from there to completely nonpunctual but durative events like jugó 'he played,' using the preterit form now to impose a punctual type interpretation on the event (contrasting with a durative interpretion: jugaba 'he played/he would play/he was playing; see Andersen 1986b for more details.) These developments are depicted in examples 1 and 2 below:

(1)
1. **No!** **No** the dog. He **no** go
2. **No!** **Not** the dog. He **dont** go.
3. **No!** **Not** the dog. He **didn't** go.

(2)

1.	cae	corre	juega
2.	**cayó**	corre/corria	juega/jugaba
3.	**cayó**	**corrió** una milla	juega/jugaba
4.	**cayó**	**corrió** una milla	**jugó**

I believe, however, that the ways in which a 1:1 relationship expands into a multifunctional one vary from case to case depending on certain aspects of the native language of the learner and the language being learned, as well as additional principles which I will be discussing shortly. That is, various of these operating principles interact with each other.

The 1:1 principle together with the Multifunctionality Principle should have important implications for innovative new research within a foreign language classroom. If there is a "preferred" path of development from an interlanguage form or construction that conforms to the 1:1 principle through various interim structures up to the full native multiform and multifunction system, then a logical hypothesis to test in research is that learners will acquire easier and faster input that is controlled systematically to match this preferred path (i.e., with the input changing as the learners move up to a level where they can efficiently process the more complex input).[7]

I should provide equal time for a counter-proposal and a clarification of what I am proposing. First of all, a counter-hypothesis would state that controlling input (and thus depriving the learner of examples of something he will acquire much later after many such examples) will actually retard

development and promote an early fossilized interlanguage, quite the opposite of what one might hope for. This is a logical counter-hypothesis and one that should be pursued in such research. I need also to clarify that I am not proposing that such modification of input is a simple task that any teacher can or should do. This is a proposal for research, not a prescription for pedagogical intervention. Moreover, such a research proposal does not address the possible need for control over the ways the learner should interact with the suppliers of the input and with fellow students to facilitate internalization of the form:meaning relations in the input. On this matter, see Long 1981, Hatch, Flashner and Hunt 1986, and Sato 1986.

(3) Formal Determinism.

One of the principles which guides the learner from a unifunctional to a multifunctional linguistic system is the principle of formal determinism. Basically this states that:

> *when the form:meaning relationship is clearly and uniformly encoded in the input, the learner will discover it earlier than other form:meaning relationships and will incorporate it more consistently within his interlanguage system.*

In short, the clear, transparent encoding of the linguistic feature in the input forces the learner to discover it.

The example of English negation mentioned earlier seems to be partly the result of formal determinism. Many learners initially place no before any constituent to be negated: *no here; they no work; my brother no in school,* following the 1:1 principle. When they discover other forms it is because the other forms, not and dont, are modeled clearly in the input in such a way that they differ from each other and from no in their distribution. Evidence for this is that learners generally restrict dont to preverbal environments (which do not include the copula), no to anaphoric use, and not to negated constituents such as equative predicates, NPs, adverbs, and the like. Even with such complexities in the input as the imperceptibility of certain contractions, such as *is* n't vs *is* not, English seems to offer a clear enough model for which form belongs with which context to allow the learner to abandon his earlier 1:1 system of negation.

In the cases of German and French negation, the clear postverbal position of the negator (nicht in German, pas in French) is strong enough to pull the learner away from his earlier preverbal position (or, perhaps in many cases, to cause the learner to opt for a postverbal position from the start).

In second language acquisition of Spanish, I already mentioned the early preference for postverbal placement of objects even though native Spanish requires preverbal clitics. Thus learners will say:

(3)		'the police		want	him'
	learners:	la policía		quiere	**él**
	native Spanish:	la policía	**lo**	quiere	

using the same form él for subject and object. When learners first begin to perceive the preverbal position of clitics it is with those clitics that are distinctly and invariantly marked: the first person singular me and plural nos. These are the same forms for direct object, indirect object, and reflexive. Third person clitics, however, have different forms for each of these functions and also differ according to gender. This complexity delays their acquisition in comparison with the first person clitics.

(4)	CLITICS:	D.O.	I.O.	REFLEXIVE
	1sg.	***me***	***me***	***me***
	1pl.	***nos***	***nos***	***nos***
	3sg. masc.	lo	le	se
	3sg. fem.	la	le	se
	3pl. masc.	los	les	se
	3pl. fem.	las	les	se

In a similar fashion (see (5)) the plural subject-verb agreement markers - mos for first person and - n for third are acquired before first person singular - o. The plural agreement markers are consistently and invariantly used across the entire verb inflection paradigm, whereas the first singular inflection -o is restricted to present indicative. Thus the formal consistency and clarity of certain forms in the input promote early discovery of them and the meanings they encode.

(5) AGREEMENT MARKERS ON VERB:

	PRESENT		IMPERFECT		PRETERIT		FUTURE	COND.	PERF. /PROG. AUXILIARIES	
	IND	SUBJ	IND	SUBJ	(1)	(2&3)				
1sg.	*-o*	-	-	-	-é	-í	-(r)é	-(ría)-	he	/ estoy
3sg.	-	-	-	-	-ó	-ió	-(r)á	-(ría)-	ha	/ está
1pl.	***-mos***	***-mos***	***-mos***	***-mos***	***-mos***	***-mos***	***-(re)mos***	***-(ría)mos***	***hemos***	***/ estamos***
3pl.	***-n***	***-n***	***-n***	***-n***	***-ron***	***-ron***	***-(rá)n***	***-(ría)n***	***han***	***/ están***

It should be apparent at this point how the principle of formal determinism contributes to the effect of the Multifunctionality Principle.

At the end of the previous section, I suggested that new research be done to test the hypothesis that controlling the input in the foreign language classroom in a manner consistent with the Multifunctionality Principle would pro-

mote faster and more accurate acquisition of the constructions so controlled. In effect this would mean altering the natural formal determinism or lack thereof in the unmodified input. Thus a related hypothesis that could be tested in a foreign language classroom setting would be that when a given form:meaning relation is infrequently encoded in the input and/or encoded in complex and opaque ways, acquisition of this form:meaning relation can be facilitated by artificially increasing the frequency of the form in the input as well as making the form:meaning relation more transparent (by temporarily excluding from the input the more opaque forms). This is what most good teachers and textbooks attempt to do anyway. The basic difference here is that such a study would attempt to empirically verify whether such control over the input has the positive effect that we commonly assume it to have.

(4) Distributional Bias.

As stated, the Formal Determinism Principle promotes discovery of the correct form:meaning relationship (from a target-language perspective). But there are also properties of the input that promote the incorporation of an inappropriate form:meaning relationship into the interlanguage. That is, the learner misperceives the meaning and distribution of a particular form that he discovers in the input, following the Distributional Bias Principle:

> *If both X and Y can occur in the same environments A and B, but a bias in the distribution of X and Y makes it appear that X only occurs in environment A and Y only occurs in environment B, when you acquire X and Y, restrict X to environment A and Y to environment B.*

The case I will discuss has already been mentioned in connection with the 1:1 principle: the early preference for using past verbal inflections on punctual verbs much more than other verbs. The particular case comes from SLA of Spanish, where more specifically the preterit verb form appears earlier than the imperfect form. This is also true for first language acquisition of Spanish and Portuguese (Jacobsen 1986, Simões & Stoel-Gammon 1979). The primary argument advanced to explain this is that unitary punctual events are especially salient and there is a need to distinguish such events formally from other less salient events, through, in this case, verbal inflection. But there exists the possibility that preterit forms are more abundant in the input than imperfect forms. From a study I did of one sample of native Spanish, this indeed seems to be the case: by both a type and a token count, preterit forms clearly outnumbered imperfect forms. Moreover, it also appears that certain of the more frequent verbs occur mainly in one of the two possible past forms, which introduces another bias into the input. For example, punctual verbs like 'break' occur mainly in preterit form, and states like 'know' in imperfect form. It is thus quite

possible that an accidental distributional bias within the target language causes the learner to err in the direction of that bias. It is also clear, however, that certain potential distributional biases do not actually lead the learner in the direction of this bias. (See Andersen 1986c for further details.)

A design for testing this principle in a foreign language classroom is quite straightforward. Two groups of learners, none of whom have had any exposure to past verb forms in Spanish, could be given identical input except for past verb forms. Group 1 would receive input in which punctual verbs were only encoded in preterit form and nonpunctual verbs (states and activities) were only encoded in imperfect form. Group 2 would receive the same input except that each verb would appear equally as often in preterit form and imperfect form (e.g., caer 'fall' and ser 'be' would appear as cayó, caía and era, fue). Designing the input so that it is as natural and as communicative as possible is, however, not so straightforward and would require careful piloting. If the Distributional Bias principle is valid, the learners in Group 1 should acquire the preterit and imperfect forms to the same degree, but restrict each verb to only one of the two forms, whereas Group 2 should acquire some instances of both forms for the same verb: preterit and imperfect forms. This design can be extended to also reflect greater frequency of preterit forms over imperfect forms (as in the native input I sampled) for one group and the reverse (greater frequency of imperfect forms over preterit forms) in the other. A counter-prediction to such studies would be that the inherent semantics of the individual verb strongly controls the tense-aspect inflection that will initially be attached to it.[8]

(5) Relevance.

The Relevance Principle comes from Bybee 1985. For ease of presentation I will use Slobin's Operating Principle version of it:

> *OP (POSITION): RELEVANCE. If two or more functors apply to a content word, try to place them so that the more relevant the meaning of a functor is to the meaning of the content word, the closer it is placed to the content word. If you find that a Notion is marked in several places, at first mark it only in the position closest to the relevant content word. (Slobin 1985:1255)*

We can explore this principle using the examples of Spanish verb morphology discussed earlier. What predictions could we make with regard to acquisition of verbal inflections for aspect, tense, and subject-verb agreement? Following Bybee (1985:196ff), we expect that aspect would be perceived and internalized earliest, since it is most relevant to the lexical item to which it attached, the verb. Tense would be next, since tense has wider scope than aspect, but is more relevant to the verb than subject-verb agreement, which would be last.

The research I am doing on SLA of Spanish (Andersen 1986a, b) as well as related studies in first language acquisition (Jacobsen 1986, Simões & Stoel-Gammon 1979) support the prediction that aspect is encoded before tense and that subject-verb agreement does not appear until at least aspect is taken care of and probably tense also. (The status of tense as separate from aspect is problematic, since the inflections in question encode both tense and aspect.) Related work on SLA of English clearly supports the prediction that tense- aspect inflections will generally appear before subject-verb agreement inflections (third person singular - s). However, as discussed earlier, none of these categories (aspect, tense, agreement) is acquired as a whole, in one abrupt and dramatic step. And, since some but not all verbal inflections are multifunctional in that they encode not only aspect but also tense and subject- verb agreement, the relative attention paid to any one of these categories by the learner changes over time as the learner acquires greater sophistication in the language.

There is also a logical implication in the Relevance Principle for classroom-based foreign language acquisition. Inflections that are most closely relevant to the content word to which they are attached should be acquired earliest. For example, gender marking should appear earlier for natural gender than for simply grammatical gender and gender marking should appear earlier on the noun (which has the gender) than on any determiners or adjectives associated with the noun (see Andersen 1984b). For English, the - s on nouns that mark number should be acquired before the - s that marks possession and both before the - s that marks third person singular. This is supported by SLA research (see summary in Andersen 1978), but the prediction is complicated by the fact that frequency in native English would make the same prediction (Larsen-Freeman 1976).

(6) Transfer to Somewhere.

The Transfer to Somewhere Principle states that :

> A grammatical form or structure will occur consistently and to a significant extent in the interlanguage as a result of transfer *if and only* if (1) natural acquisitional principles are consistent with the L1 structure or (2) there already exists within the L2 input the potential for (mis- generalization from the input to produce the same form or structure. Furthermore, in such transfer preference is given in the resulting interlanguage to *free*, *invariant*, functionally *simple* morphemes which are congruent with the L1 and L2 (or there is congruence between the L1 and natural acquisitional processes)

> and [to] morphemes [which] occur frequently in the L1 and/or the L2 (Andersen 1983b:182).

I will provide only one example here, since I have discussed this principle in detail elsewhere (Andersen 1983b; earlier versions in Andersen 1979a, 1980, and 1982).

Zobl (1980) has pointed out that, while English speakers will place object pronouns postverbally in their French interlanguage, following English word order but violating French rules, French learners of English do not follow French rules for placement of object pronouns in their English. The explanation for this follows the Transfer to Somewhere Principle: both French and English require postverbal placement of full NPs, which provides a model for postverbal placement of pronouns, which happens to match English but violate French rules. Thus, English speakers have a model in the input to transfer to: postverbal placement of full NP objects in French. But French speakers have no such native English model to cause them to transfer their preverbal placement of clitics to English.[9] A similar finding pertains to the acquisition of Spanish by English speakers (Andersen 1983b). The Spanish data, however, reveal that the Transfer to Somewhere Principle (or any equivalent transfer principle) operates in conjunction with other operating principles (such as the Principle of Formal Determinism discussed previously).

What might such a principle mean in a foreign language classroom context? I will postpone discussion of this until after I outline the next principle.

(7) Relexification.

In accounting for the special type of second language acquisition which results in a pidgin language, Derek Bickerton argues that the main determinant of the resulting structure of the pidgin is relexification from the pidgin speaker's native language. He offers examples such as the following, from a Japanese speaker of Hawaiian Pidgin English, which shows Japanese-influenced verb-final sentence structure (Bickerton 1977:53):

> as kerosin, plaenteishan, wan mans, fo gaelan ***giv***
> 'The plantation ***gave*** us four gallons of kerosene a month.'

A Relexification Principle could be stated as follows:

> *When you cannot perceive the structural pattern used by the language you are trying to acquire, use your native*

language structure with lexical items from the second language.

As stated this principle is still too imprecise. Even in the unique situation of the pidgin speakers who have limited or absolutely no access to native English, such uses of verb-final structures, while as frequent as 60% of all sentences, are usually lower and there is definitely no categorical relexification from Japanese. Somehow we need to better explain this variable use of what is apparently relexification of the native language in the use of the second language.

One may easily argue that the pidgin situation is far too different from the normal SLA situation. The pidgin setting is certainly quite unique, especially with regard to the lack of access to adequate input on which to model acquisition of the second language. Nevertheless, it is not hard to find examples of such apparent relexification in the English of Japanese-speaking immigrants to the continental United States, speakers whose English is far more "English-like" than that of the Hawaiian Pidgin English speakers. One such example is given below. Most of the time this speaker follows quite clearly an English subject-verb-object pattern. But it appears from this excerpt (and others like it), that a Japanese-based processing preference for final placement of verbs is still at work in this speaker's use of English (example from Kuwahata 1984; verb is in bold italics, object in square brackets):

INTERVIEWER
1. When you were in Japan, did you ever study English?

KEI
2. I never ***study*** [English].
3. I don't ***like*** [a English], because (chuckle) yes.

INTERVIEWER
4. Why didn't you like English?

KEI
5. Because...I never ***talk*** [to American people],
6. I'm never learn.
7. Then, I'm (gonna) marry,
8. must be [English], I ***am study***.
9. Then, I'm not ***marry*** [... (the) American people],
10. I not [English], ***take*** [the class].
(laugh)
11. I ***have*** [a Junior high school],
12. never [English], ***take*** [the class].
13. Never.
14. I don't ***like*** [a English].

Kei uses both English verb-object word order and an apparent double-object construction: object verb object. It appears that, in utterances like 8, 10, and 12, Kei repairs an "in-progress" object + verb construction by adding a second object, which fits well into the information flow. That is, I am suggesting that she is initially aiming at "I not [English class] *take*," but is able to repair such a clearly non-English construction while speaking.

In a setting where the learner has access to native English input, the Transfer to Somewhere Principle would predict that such constructions, based on relexification, would be infrequent and short-lived precisely because there is no "somewhere" in native English to transfer to, nor do any of the operating principles support a preference for object-verb constructions. In other words, in acquisition-rich environments, the learner would soon realize that the native English input does not contain constructions with the verb after the object. It may be the case that, in settings where pidgin languages develop, there is not enough input from the target language available to promote transfer based on the Transfer to Somewhere Principle and relexification is the only resource the learner has. It should be noted, however, that, whereas Japanese has utterance-final placement of the negator, such a position appears **never** to be used in either Hawaiian Pidgin English nor the English of Japanese immigrants to the continental U.S. (see the examples with not in the excerpt above). This difference somehow has to be accounted for, whether in further specification within the Relexification Principle or in some interaction between several of the operating principles.

Both the Transfer to Somewhere Principle and the Relexification Principle, if they are, indeed, separate "principles," are potentially relevant to the foreign language classroom context. Research to explore their effects would have to be conducted along the lines of studies like Cancino (1976), who compared the English of a Spanish speaker with that of a Japanese speaker. Since Japanese and Spanish differ in very clear ways, the relative effects of transfer can be readily studied in the learners' English. Cancino's subjects were young children acquiring English through natural contact. It appears that the dramatic type of relexification discussed by Bickerton for pidgin settings does not occur in such naturalistic settings. At least Cancino and Hakuta (1976), who conducted the study from which the Japanese-English data was taken, do not mention examples.

It would seem, however, that in a foreign language classroom setting where most of the "input" is in the form of examples, rules, and paradigms, with little or no access to natural speech of native speakers, the Relexification Principle would assume a much more important role in governing construction of the interlanguage than the Transfer to Somewhere Principle. Research designed to test these two principles within a classroom context would have to control input carefully in order to determine the source of learner's interlanguage constructions. The hypothesis to be tested would be that, when learners are pro-

vided with adequate native speaker input they will follow only the Transfer to Somewhere Principle and not the Relexification Principle, while learners in an acquisition-poor classroom would be more likely to fall back on relexification.

STRATEGIES OF LANGUAGE USE (BY NATIVE AND NONNATIVE SPEAKERS)

I have focussed most of my discussion on the cognitive processes I believe guide language acquisition in a variety of settings. The particular setting from which I have drawn examples, however, is that of natural noninstructed second language acquisition. In such settings the learner presumably gets access to the language being learned through a variety of short as well as more involved interactions with native speakers (and probably other nonnative speakers). It is through such interactions that the learner is able to perceive new forms and constructions as well as new form:meaning relations and thus expand his interlanguage system in the direction of the native target.

The communication strategies used by native and nonnative speakers during native-nonnative interaction have been well-documented over the years in such studies as Hatch 1978b, Gass & Varonis 1984, 1985a,b,c, Long 1981a,b, Peck 1978, and Tarone 1977, 1980, and in collections such as Day 1986, Hatch 1978a, Larsen-Freeman 1980, Seliger & Long 1983, and Wolfson & Judd 1983. A detailed treatment of the role of such communication strategies in facilitating acquisition of new forms and their meanings, functions, and distribution in the second language requires a paper at least as long as this one, if not a book. To underscore the importance of such communication strategies in acquiring new forms, I will draw on an unpublished paper by Barbara Hawkins, a Ph. D. student at UCLA, who has taught me a lot about the value of such interaction.

In a joint study of Hawkins' learning of Papiamentu in an experimental communicative-language teaching course at UCLA, Hawkins and two other students investigated various aspects of Hawkins' communication with a native speaker after ten weeks of instruction in Papiamentu. In her paper Hawkins combined procedures of discourse analysis, following Hatch 1978b, 1983, with retrospective comments by herself and in an interview (in English now) with the native speaker of Papiamentu, to try to access the communication strategies used by both the native and nonnative speaker in communication. (See Hawkins 1985 for further use of these procedures.) In the example I will cite here, Hawkins was trying to tell the native speaker that she had a sister who was going to get married, but she didn't know how to say "going to" in Papiamentu, which is ta bai. She tries to use an irrealis marker, lo, which also serves as a future marker, but she was aware that it was not appropriate and that she didn't know how to do it right (Hawkins' retrospective comments are in italics):

H:Mi tin un ruman muh/e ku ta-
No, ku... uhm ... let's see...
ku *lo*, *lo* a ... kas-
ku *lo* a tin kas-
ku *lo* tin kas/a...
I don't know... I just forget.
Na... No... Okay.

[H: I have a sister who is-
No, who... uhm ... let's see...
who will, would... marr-
who would have hus-
who will have a husband...

(RETROSPECTION: I remember struggling to form the future and not knowing; I wanted him to tell me)

NS: Kon e yama?
Bo ruman ku ***ta bai*** kasa?

NS: What's her name?
Your sister who is going to get married?

(RETROSPECTION: I knew immediately that this meant, "is going to marry" -- from Spanish.)

H: Oh. Ku ***ta bai*** ... a kasa ...
a kasa?

H: Oh. Who is going to ... to-marry
to to-marry?

(RETROSPECTION: I wasn't sure if the "a" was present. I was thinking of Spanish.)

NS: Ku ***ta bai*** kasa.

NS: Who is going to marry.

H: Ah, si?

H: Oh, yah?

NS: Si?

NS: Yah?]

(RETROSPECTION: I got it! I was really excited.)

(The two occurrences of si? at the end may be difficult to follow. Hawkins' Si? means, "Oh, that's how you say it?" The native speaker's Si? means, "Oh, she's going to get married?") (Hawkins 1981:83)

Hawkins' comment in her conclusion is relevant here: "For the student, early speech may be learning to say, "Huh?", until understanding is achieved. Beyond this, I think it would be worthwhile to teach students to use all of the various mechanisms involved in repair requests. If students know how not to let themselves be overcome by native speech that is too fast or beyond their vocabulary limits, they can, slowly but surely, progress in the target language (p. 86)."

Such repair strategies would form part of the "interaction" portion of the cognitive-interactionist model I have tried to outline in this paper. In this paper I have focussed almost completely on the cognitive side of this model, since I believe that it is here that there is considerable common ground between second and foreign language learning. This is also the area to which I have devoted most of my attention in my research. But in a foreign language classroom environment like the one in which Hawkins learned Papiamentu, the interaction with the language must be planned for and carefully orchestrated, in contrast with the natural acquisition of a second language through interaction with native speakers on their home territory. In many ways the foreign language classroom is a better laboratory for studying the relative roles of cognitive operating principles and interaction stategies than the second language setting, since better controls can be imposed in the classroom setting.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

What kinds of goals should we have for the future to pursue the factors which govern progress in acquiring a foreign language in a classroom setting and what role can naturalistic second language research play in such research ? There is always a tendency for specialized subfields, such as the subfields of natural SLA vs classroom-based foreign language acquisition, to treat each other as pursuing different questions and producing results only minimally relevant to each other. This has already happened to some degree: those interested in a classroom setting tend to pursue their own paradigms and research procedures quite different from those in what is commonly referred to as "interlanguage studies," and vice versa. Whether one wants to "buy" this particular congitive-interactionist model or not, I believe much can be gained by exploring both the cognitive principles and the interactional strategies that must be at the core of second language acquisition both in and outside of the classroom. Nonclassroom-focussed SLA research stands to gain much from classroom-centered research and classroom-centered research can benefit considerably from the type of research carried on in settings outside of the classroom. And, in order to understand how authentic language texts can form the basis of successful second language acquisition in a foreign language classroom, we need to understand the nature of natural second language acquisition. This theoretical framework is meant to be a step in the right direction in arriving at this understanding.

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NOTES

[1] I will limit my discussion to only this particular model.

[2] The term nativization is used for this model because of the origin of the model in an acquisition view of the creation of a creole language: when a creole language first is created, the children creating it are, in effect, creating a new native language. Thus nativization is meant to capture what it takes to create a new native language. As extended to other first and second language acquisition situations, it should suffice to quote from an earlier discussion of the model (Andersen 1983a:11):

> Creolization, pidginization, and the creation of a unique interlanguage in first and second language acquisition in early stages of acquisition share one attribute -- the creation of a linguistic system which is at least partly autonomous from the input used for building that system. This system can then be considered "native" to the individual in that it is the individual's mental capacity to construct such a linguistic system that makes it possible for a new "native" language to arise, as in the creation of a creole language. Each individual has the potential for creating his own system. New input then must assimilate to his system. This process of creating an individual autonomous system I call nativization in order to capture what is common to these four cases.

[3] See also Jordens 1987 and Taylor 1987 for possible counterevidence and alternative interpretations.

[4] I must clarify that I am not prescribing doing away with 'the usual rules, examples, and paradigms for memorization and practice,' Rather I wish to focus attention on the need for new research within a communicative framework which also permits manipulation of input so as to test some of these hypotheses.

[5] Earlier SLA research had considered and rejected Slobin's operating principles as an explanatory framework for SLA. Dulay & Burt 1974 and Larsen- Freeman 1975, for example, objected that Slobin's 1973 OPs were difficult to test and were not mutually exclusive. As Bowerman's 1985 critical evaluation of the revised OPs reveals, these limitations are still there. Such criticism would also apply to the principles discussed here for SLA. My position on this criticism is that rather than rejecting the OPs (with nothing comparable to replace them), we should work with them as they are and improve on them with further research. Besides, the difficulties faced in testing some of the operating principles as well as the interrelatedness of certain OPs with each other are quite possibly the result of the complexity of language and human cognition, not necessarily a weakness in the operating principles.

[6] For German (Clahsen 1984) and French (Trevise & Noyau 1984) this needs to be rephrased as "immediately next to (before or after) the main verb" for propositional negation. But this qualification is probably the result of the Formal Determinism Principle.

[7] This hypothesis is similar in many respects to Krashen's Input Hypothesis and his focus on the hypothetical Gi + 1 stage of development, as well as Pienemann's research on formal instruction that fits the learner's particular stage of development. The major difference is that Krashen's work depends on a view of acquisition in terms of whole target-language morphemes being acquired in one fell swoop (such as "article" or "copula") and Pienemann's work also depends on discrete target-language syntactic rules. A Multifunctionality Principle predicts that there are a number of small changes leading up to so-called "acquisition" of the target-language form or construction and it is these small changes that should be researched.

[8] At least one additional variable must be considered in such a design: time between contact with such input and first spontaneous use of the forms in question. This variable must be explored in pilot studies or as a separate dependent variable.

[9] This also conforms to Eckman's (1977) Markedness Differential Hypothesis.

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